Pope or Mussolini

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POPE OR MUSSOLINI

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BY

JOHN HEARLEY

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TO THE LATE

THOMAS JEFFERSON OF MONTICELLO

THIS BOOK IS PATRIOTICALLY
DEDICATED. THE WRITER IS
STILL AMERICAN ENOUGH TO
BELIEVE THAT HIS DECLAR-
ATION OF INDEPENDENCE IS A
POLITICAL REFLECTION OF
THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

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FOREWORD

A personally conducted party of tourists lands at Naples. The slogan of the tourist agency is: " 'do' fifteen cities in fifteen days!"

The globe trotters do not understand a single word of Italian. All they gather about Italy comes to them from their guide, who would soon find himself in jail if he did not sing the praises and benefits of Mussolini. They notice that "the trains run on time." They visit here and they visit there, assuring themselves that all the statues, pictures, ruins and palaces enumerated in their Baedeker are still in place. All have been spared. They return home thanking God for Mussolini.

A "tourist" quite of another kind is Signor John Hearley. His volume, "Pope or Mussolini," which I am privileged to introduce to the American public, is an historic and valuable contribution to the modern scientific inquiry into such medievalisms as Church and State Absolutisms. The canvas upon which he paints his colorful picture is the present-day Italy of Pius XI and Mussolini I. A one-time United States Government official at Rome and a former American newspaper correspondent in Italy, he had exceptional

opportunity for the acquisition of accurate inside knowledge of Quirinal politics and Vatican diplomacy.

Mussolini's Concordat with the Vatican is a purely individualistic and political manœuvre. It is a piece of presumptuous and high-handed arrogance which sweeps away the whole Italian inheritance of the democratic Risorgimento of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. On her side the Papacy has definitely chosen reaction rather than progress. The choice is certain to prove a boomerang. Had Pius XI done the enlightened thing or had held himself even diplomatically aloof from the conflict, the Anti-Fascists would not be cataloguing him as their avowed and active enemy. When they at some future day would have entered Rome in triumph, they could have and would have made peace with a neutral Pope. Pius XI has now made this impossible.

The decision of the Treaty's signatories to withhold the full text from the public for several weeks was a piece of vicious secret diplomacy, typically Papal, typically Fascist. Pope and Duce both felt that by that time the world would have been psychologically weary of the whole business. Or too bored or blinded by other and newer events to look for any anti-democratic dynamite among the bizarre love-makers along the Tiber. All such things Mr. Hearley notes and amplifies in his unique narrative.

A typical case will reveal how Fascist "propaganda" ordinarily works and will point and emphasize the necessity and importance of such a free, informed and uncensored expression as this author's "Pope or Mussolini." Consider the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to Italy in 1926. Tagore had been a few days in Milan the year before and had been greeted with reverence and affection by the cultured classes. He had promised to return.

Tagore came to Rome. He went to visit Mussolini. At once there was a great flourish of journalistic trumpets in the press; Mussolini and Tagore embracing each other; Tagore declaring himself enthusiastic about Fascist Italy and Mussolini.

Tagore did not speak or read Italian. So long as he remained in Italy he failed to see how the Fascists were making use of him. But after he left Italy, he learned what the newspapers of the whole world had published regarding his enthusiasm for Fascist theories and personalities. Then he protested:

"It is absurd to imagine that I could ever support a movement which ruthlessly suppresses freedom of expression, enforces observances that are against individual consciences and walks through a blood-stained path of violence and stealthy crime."

With the best will in the world independent newspaper correspondents stationed in Italy can do no more than send unsigned articles to their papers or

reviews. They must adopt all sorts of expedients to avoid discovery. But the daily news-telegrams, which are read by the great mass of the people and which form what is called public opinion, are drastically controlled and are intercepted if they do not echo the views of the Government. Those journalists who do not bow to the will of Fascism are expelled from Italy without further ado.

If a foreigner visiting Italy is prominent in the world of science, arts, politics or business, the highest persons in the Fascist régime come forward to do him honor. Mussolini expresses a desire to receive him. The salons of the aristocracy and the Fascist upper classes vie with one another in showing him hospitality. Hedged round in such ways by the world of the conquerors, how can the foreigner learn the feelings and thoughts of the conquered?

Italy is no stranger to Mr. Hearley! For several wartime years he lived intimately with her. This was before the Turks came into possession of the Italian Government. Several years later he returned and made an independent journalistic study.

The author is a person of integrity and intelligence. He understands and speaks Italian. He has not studied Italy from the windows of a railroad train. He has not been led astray by the deceptive articles of Fascist or Vatican "propaganda." He has rubbed intellectual elbows with Fascist victor and anti-Fascist

victim. In Italian town and Italian country he has spoken not only with the rich but also with the poor. He tells a fascinating and exceedingly readable story, and does not neglect to undertone the democratic tragedy of it all. In the book of history he has written a number of new and vivid pages. These pages will hold and thrill student and casual reader alike.

With the solid and well-selected bricks of logic Mr. Hearley relentlessly builds Democracy's case against Pope and Duce. In the end you find yourself defiantly waving a mental flag of freedom. You wave it between the horns of the dilemma, "Pope or Mussolini," shouting—"Neither!" This dilemma, nevertheless, Italy's strange interlude known as Fascism has impudently turned loose to rampage through the peaceful pastures of popular Government, the world over.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Buffalo, March 30th

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POPE OR MUSSOLINI

CHAPTER I

DIPLOMANIA

"THAT stormy petrel has at last become a dove of peace. The Roman Question is settled. This fifty-nine-year-old conflict between Italy's Church and State is ended. Viva Mussolini! Viva il Papa-Re!"

Such was the message Rome suddenly, one mid-February day, broadcasted to the world. The specific occasion was the signing of a threefold Convention in the Lateran palace. The Duce himself signed for King Victor Emmanuel and Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, papal Secretary of State, signed for Pope Pius XI. The threefold Convention consisted of a Treaty, a Concordat and a financial stipulation.

But can peace, does peace really reign along the Tiber? Notwithstanding this pontifico-Fascist gesture few things are ever settled permanently in Italy.

A year ago the Holy Father was metaphorically calling Mussolini "a limb of Satan." The Duce was insisting that education was the prerogative of the Fascist State, banning the Catholic Boy Scouts and

proclaiming a pagan and pantheistic theory of Government: "All to the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State."

Echoing the Holy Father's informal anathema, the more superstitious of Italian Catholics were hailing Mussolini as "the Anti-Christ." In private, of course, because nobody in Fascist Italy dared to utter public criticism of her present-day Cæsar.

In the United States, on the other hand, more than one Catholic clergyman leaped Telemachuslike into the arena and defied the Duce to flaunt the Papacy and martyr Catholic doctrine. Said the Reverend Francis P. Duffy, world war chaplain, in the *New York World* of Sunday, April 1, 1928:

"Less Benito Mussolini and more Thomas Jefferson would be a mighty good dose for Italy at the present time.

"I am tired of Mussolini and of Americans favoring Mussolini. Mussolini has thrown over democracy and robbed the Italian people of a great many of their civil liberties. His theory is that the State is supreme, that it has the right to deal with the people anyway it likes. The American view is that there are a great number of things in which the State has no right to interfere.

"These are the rights contained in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution and among them are freedom of religion and freedom of assembly. Certainly

any such order—the anti-Catholic Boy Scout order—as Mussolini has issued goes against the grain for anybody who holds the good American doctrine of human rights."

Borrowing a note from the same thunder, the Rt. Reverend Monsignor John L. Belford, rector of the Brooklyn Church of the Nativity, declared:

"I think Mussolini has overreached himself. He has gone entirely too far. . . . Everybody has been waiting for Mussolini to make a fool of himself and at last he has done it. Apparently he is drunk with power."

Similar sentiments, expressed by the Reverend John B. Kelly, spiritual director of the Catholic Writers' Guild of America, were reported in the *New York Times* of March 31, 1928:

"After consultation with the best available authorities on relations of Church and State," Father Kelly comments, "I can express their crystallized sentiments in the following presentation of the present controversy in Italy—

" 'Signor Mussolini's work in Italy must receive its final judgment from the Italian people. That he has done a great deal of good is a very evident thing, but from the American point of view the good he has done is purchased at the tremendous price of civil liberty. His theory is that the will of the State is

supreme and that no elements of human life are exempt from the authority of the ruler.

" 'Here he runs counter to the ideals of our Constitution, which excludes from the powers of Government vast tracts of life—freedom of speech, freedom of religious worship, freedom of assembly and the rest.' "

The rebuke aimed at Mussolini by the Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, the Jesuit editor of *America*, was a much lighter blow. Believing perhaps that discretion were the better part of journalistic pugilism, Father Parsons feinted:

"The issue raised by the recent action of Mussolini involves a question both of theory and of practice. As a matter of theory, the Catholic Church, always and everywhere, has stood for the right of the parent over the education of his children against an undue encroachment of the State. This position the Pope is bound to uphold and it is not a matter of personal preference with him.

"As a matter of practice, however, it is to be hoped that, as in the past, an arrangement will be reached by which this inalienable right will be respected and that at the same time the just claims of the State, as represented by Mussolini, will be safeguarded. In the absence of further pronouncements from the Pope it may be presumed that in a Catholic country like Italy, the Premier and the Church will find a way of

satisfying both the religious loyalty and the patriotism of Italians."

In the tide of time Mussolini bathed. The new baptism washed him clean of all original sin. The Pontiff who, twelve months since, figuratively characterized him as "a limb of Satan" today informally "beatifies" him as "a man of God."

In 1909 Mussolini was mockingly blaspheming:

"Fellow workers! If within five minutes God does not strike me down, I have demonstrated to you that God does not exist."

In 1929 Pius XI was piously telling the world: "I consider that he (Mussolini) was sent by Providence."

Has the Duce's signature to a Convention with the Vatican, which time can easily prove more theoretical than practical, worked a miracle? To the more Catholic Italian crowds, Mussolini is no longer "the Anti-Christ." He is become suddenly a Jesus-like ruler before whom the palms of peace must be strewn and the hosannas of praise sung.

Catholic ecclesiastics in the United States, unmindful of the local clergy's anti-Mussolinian tune of yesterday, joined in this pro-Mussolinian chorus. In a split second clenched fists opened like healing wings. Many a hand, which threatened before, now stretches amicably across the bewildered seas. Cardinal O'Connell led the pæan-singing American Catholic choir.

Yet here as in Catholic Italy the burden of the song is a platitudinous sentimentality. In its monotonous content there is no educational message to non-Catholic outsiders, who are both interested and baffled.

Our secular press approached the settlement of the Roman question with a conspicuous show of nervousness. There was little newspaper courage at the preliminary signal of peace along the Tiber. Through the first days few popular dailies handled the historic and world-changing news in an intimate manner. As a rule, the press used journalistic tongs and glanced at the porcupinelike and terrifying phenomenon from a distance. No paper probed the probable or possible worldwide or American significance of the revolutionary agreement with a penetrating editorial lancet. The traditional terror of offending Catholic sensitiveness hung like a death's head in the editor's sanctum.

On the other hand, *America*, the Jesuit weekly, proudly counted pontifical chickens before they were hatched. On February 16th it editorially crowed in chanticleerlike fashion:

"News of the settlement at Rome must have made every Catholic heart throb a prayer of gratitude to God. *Whatever the details* of the final settlement between Pius XI, no longer the Prisoner of the Vatican but its august Sovereign, and the representatives

of the Government of Italy, a victory has been achieved, as honorable as it is tremendous.

"For the heart of the whole case is that the sovereignty, which the Bishops of Rome have constantly asserted and proclaimed, has been freely and fully acknowledged; and this as a matter of right and justice, not as a matter of grace and concession. *The statement made in one of the dispatches, that the Government of Italy had accepted the Canon Law, is capable of several interpretations. Even minimizing the interpretation, its importance to religion, morality, and education, is immense. If, on the other hand, the statement be true as it stands, then we have lived to see a day scarcely less notable in the history of Christianity, than the day on which the rights of the Church as a perfect society were publicly recognized by Constantine the Great.*

"Blessed be God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who has made the Successor of Peter to prevail mightily. Blessed be He again that He has preserved us to rejoice in the day of the deliverance!"

There is naïve and enthusiastic frankness in Father Parsons' outburst. His moving editorial finger not only writes but points the way to the nigger in the Concordat's woodpile. The black menace to modern progress and democratic institutions through the world is "Canon Law."

Canon Law has been the antechamber of the med-

ieval inquisition, the deathknell of scientific research and the mockery of American democracy. Medieval Popes sitting in the territorial saddle of temporal sovereignty overrode the high horse of Canon Law to a Protestant Reformation. Is this the law which Mussolini has officially recognized and partially accepted as the architrave if not the cornerstone of civil law for his Fascist State? Materially viewed, the House of Fascism cannot help but be an architectural crazy quilt, covering or half-covering a thousand and one unsightly family skeletons.

In their Catholicism the French are often an independently minded and logical people. The Cardinal Archbishop of Paris left Rome in a huff when he learned that the Pope and the Duce were about to exchange the kiss of peace. France had long been the protector of Catholic missions in the Near and Far East and the French prelate could not brook, among other things, the contemplated Fascist substitution without a gesture of disapproval.

The French Republic's diplomatic mission to the Holy See added its protest to the French Cardinal's objection. From such missionary protection France had too long been garnering economic perquisites to abandon it gracefully. Even England joined in official opposition, when the Papacy announced that any moneys owed the Vatican and paid by Italy would be expended upon foreign missions. Both the British

and the French governments foresaw a Pope-caressed Italy increasing her Eastern economic zones of interest under cover of religious protectorates. Pius XI subsequently promised Paris and London to rearrange his budget and spend this Italian gold on another cause.

While America's secular press is editorially silent upon the Agreement, the corresponding French press is suggestively eloquent. As a sample of journalistic liberty among the Gauls, the following page of humorous but often penetrating comment from *L'Europe Nouelle of Paris* is appended:

"An amusing aspect of the signing of the Italian Concordat and the reconciliation of the temporal and spiritual powers was the very noticeable presence of the Ambassador of Italy, Count Manzoni, at the fête which the Nuncio of the Pope of Rome gave the twelfth of this past February.

"It is said that each year at this date the Nuncio gives a fête to commemorate the enthroning of Pius XI. Up until now the Ambassador of Italy could not attend this fête; this year, the Count Manzoni from the moment of his entrance leaned proprietarily against the monumental fire place in the Nuncio's palace. It appeared that in reality the guests of the Nuncio were also, 'a little,' his own guests."

* * *

"A visitor who called recently at Gardone for the purpose of visiting the author of the 'Victoires Mutilées' tells this amusing anecdote. In the course of the conversation he asked d'Annunzio his opinion of the new historical situation created between the Quirinal and the Vatican.

" 'Do you know,' responded d'Annunzio, 'that phrase uttered by Nietzsche toward the end of his life—If there were a God, how would I support that which is not I? . . . Very well! There is something like that going on in Italy. There are four of us who wish to be King: the Pope, Mussolini, the King himself and I myself. We each try to attain the goal by a different road; the Pope by diplomacy, Mussolini by force, Myself by genius and the King . . . by discretion.' "

* * *

"That discretion at no time prevents the King from realizing fully the situation in which he has been placed in Italy. Last year, as is known, there took place at Milan an important exposition. This was simultaneously opened by the King and Mussolini. At a particular moment Victor Emmanuel III dropped his handkerchief. Mussolini bent over to pick it up and handed it to the King. 'Your Excellency!' said the King, 'I thank you very much for having restored my handkerchief. You do not know how much it means to me. It is among my choicest treasures.'

" 'How is that, Sir?' rejoined the astonished Duce.

" 'Why, don't you see,' responded the King, 'it is the only thing left in Italy into which I can still poke my nose!'

* * *

"Now that the negotiations for the Italian Concordat have concluded in an agreement, it is not necessary to believe that they were conducted without difficulty. There were more than 200 interviews between Dr. X, who officially represented the Quirinal, and Cardinal Y, who not less officially represented the Vatican. One can easily imagine the treasures of diplomacy which were displayed, now by one party, and now by the other party. They tell this pretty story at Rome in connection with the negotiations. Even if it be not entirely true, it clears the atmosphere of certain conferences. Dr. X being impatient at the length of the negotiations said one day to Cardinal Y:

" 'I do not understand why St. Peter hesitates so to come to decision, when as a matter of fact all the advantages are his. We give him the banner of Fascism to display, and assist him to carry his cross.'

" 'Yes,' replied Cardinal Y, 'the Pope gives you the tiara, and you hand him a crown of thorns.' "

* * *

"One of the most sparkling reporters of the largest

newspaper of the Republic possesses the charming gift of saying funny things apropos of all political events. 'Well!' said somebody to him at a smart dinner, 'what do you think of the actual temporal power of the Pope over his domains, and the innumerable questions which that sovereignty raises?'

" 'I think,' smilingly answered our Dangeau, 'that if the Pope had entered, eight days earlier, into the possession of his State, we would undoubtedly have had at the Beauty Show, alongside of Miss France and Miss Germany, a Miss Vatican.' "

* * *

Italy's ostracized Anti-Clericals, Masons, Republicans, Liberals and Radicals resent this belated wedging of a pontifical pedestal in the official Fascist structure. They feel that such an addition is a tombstone to Mazzinian liberty and the whole Risorgimento movement. And a millstone around the neck of the 1870 fall of Rome.

"In dealing with essential matters, I am intransigent: to the Vatican and the priests neither rest nor peace. They are the real and constant enemies of Italy," announced the Republican poet, Carducci.

"The Catholic Church is not only a foreigner to Italy but it is its most sworn, implacable and mortal enemy," claimed the liberty-loving Amilcare Cipriani.

"The Vatican is a dagger in the heart of Italy," cried the red-shirted and United Italy-making Garibaldi.

Long before the dawn of the Risorgimento, six hundred years ago, Dante saw the pontifical confusion of the things of God with the things of Cæsar. "The Church of Rome, by confounding two powers in herself, falls into the mire and fouls herself and her burden" flow his words through the channel of *Il Purgatorio* (XVI, 127). To this immortal poet and philosopher the destination of the bark of Peter apparently was not always the Kingdom of God. Did he sense the dangerous possibilities in a zigzag and politic navigation and, like an inspired Chaldean astrologer, read the Papacy's present history in the stars of his day?

Exiled from Italy as an Anti-Fascist, Ex-Premier Nitti warned Pope Pius eighteen months since that Italian Fascism was an un-Italian and passing phenomenon and that any alliance with Mussolini was of its very nature a temporary and destructive arrangement. The warning was carried in an article in the Paris and New York press and was reported to represent the mind of Italy's thousands of political refugees. Many of these look to Nitti as their leader. He himself is admittedly ready to succeed the Duce as Italy's Anti-Fascist Prime Minister, when death or conspiracy or "the fundamental common sense of the

Italian people" consign Mussolini and all his Fascist works to oblivion.

Pius himself made no effort to conceal the fact that the rapprochement with the Quirinal and the subsequent alliance of peace were the product of secret diplomacy. Neither the College of Cardinals nor the worldwide Catholic episcopate was taken into his confidence or asked for advice. In answer to Catholic criticism from many and apparently high ecclesiastical quarters His Holiness said bluntly on one occasion that "you can't please everybody"; on another, "I alone am responsible."

The Duce on his part censored any public reference to the approaching settlement and let down Italian newspaper bars only when the Treaty was a *fait accompli.* For days foreigners had been reading the story of the negotiations and gaining certain insight into the nature and consequences of the documents involved. Meanwhile the Italians were autocratically kept in journalistic ignorance of the entire proceedings.

According to cable despatches from Rome, initial ecclesiastical attacks upon the Agreement were made from three different angles. There were those who objected to any kind of an official alliance and *modus operandi* with the Duce. Others contended that, in view of the extent of the one-time Papal States, which once covered a fifth of Italy, Pius XI was demand-

ing too little territory. The third party insisted that any settlement which did not carry with it an international guarantee essentially begged rather than really settled the Roman Question.

The first group was more spiritually than politically concerned. Its members seemingly bore in mind that Mussolinian Fascism boasts a Machiavellian platform and recalled that an older Pope had excommunicated Machiavelli for heresy. The Duce at Bologna a few years ago paid public tribute to this so-called prince of darkness, heralding him far and wide as the forerunner of Fascism. Many are now finding it impossible to harmonize Mussolini's Machiavelli-like theory of violence with the pacific message of the pontifical Vicar of Christ, the earthly Prince of Peace.

The authoritative *Catholic News* of New York in its issue of February 16 headlines the question—"Will U. S. Have a Minister at Vatican Court?" The article, printed before the full publication of the agreement, does not hesitate to say that an American representative ought to be sent to the new Papal State. The author of the *Catholic News* story, nevertheless, sees local storms ahead. His conclusion reads: "For the incoming administration the question will be a practical one not without political complications." Indications are that the following quotation from the

article is in line with the general hierarchical position of the Church in this country:

"With the conclusion of the Agreement between the Vatican and the Quirinal the question reverts to its original form. The Pope becomes a recognized temporal sovereign and, although the territory over which he will rule is insignificant, it is, unlike some of the other principalities which have place in the family of nations, the *centre of world attention.* . . .

"It is possible for the American Ambassador to Italy to serve as diplomatic representative at the Vatican but it is doubted that such an arrangement would be feasible in view of the general practice of maintaining separate missions, which prevails even at the present time. It is to be supposed too that the relations even in that event would be reciprocal and that the Apostolic Delegate at Washington would be accorded recognition as the official representative of the Papal State."

Our Catholic press, without analyzing the published content or any American possibility in the Treaty or Concordat, immediately gave both impulsive and extravagant praise. But Catholic pulpits in the beginning were somewhat tongue-tied upon this latest "act of Providence." Preaching priests possibly feared to rush in where many "well-bred angels" had so long feared to tread. Again, they might have been afraid of worrying or disordering certain minds in their

congregations. At any rate, brief platitudinous references and informal "Te Deums" were the order of the first day. It is not improbable that the average American bishop prudently instructed his clerical subordinate to "lay off" the essentials of the subject.

Signs are not wanting that the accord for the time being will strengthen the Church in Italy and weaken it everywhere else. History is not without its parallel. The Concordat which Napoleon once made between France and the Papacy proved a hundred years' nightmare for the Church and France. Its shadow, moreover, fell over the whole Catholic world and darkened more than one phase of international relations.

Actually the present Concordat makes Canon Law a kind of "rule of life" for the Italian people. These include not only Italian Roman Catholics but such Italian non-Catholics as Italy's Protestant Waldensians, Agnostics, Atheists and Jews. No matter what the actual practice will be this spiritual incongruity will exist. In any event the Church's laws on divorce, birth control and other domestic relations become binding upon Italy's Jews and non-Catholic Gentiles as well as upon her Orthodox church-going and un-Orthodox non-church-going Catholics.

Incidentally, unlike the Italian Jews and Italian Protestants the Catholics in Italy will not be quite bereft of a loophole for matrimonial escape. After the manner of the Catholic Judy O'Grady or the Cath-

olic Colonel's lady they may always apply to the Rota for an annulment of marriage. Up to this time the Colonel's lady seems to have applied oftener than Judy. On the other hand, although all roads lead to Rome now more than ever, there is no Italian road to domestic freedom and remarriage either for Protestant or Jew.

Charles C. Marshall looks upon the latest pontifico-Italian undertaking as a complete vindication of his own position and argument. His Atlantic letter to Governor Smith as well as his recent book, "The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State," has gained fresh value. "For the first time in history," Mr. Marshall remarked to the writer, "we have a case where the Papacy recognizes in its political relations the objective right of the people of the former Papal State to deprive the Pope of his Civil Princedom or territorial sovereignty. I personally think that the Papacy has come before the bar of the civilized world and laid down its claim to be supreme, in divine right, politically over any territory or people whatsoever.

"To those who maintain that Canon Law is a possible 'nigger in the Concordat woodpile,' I would argue that Canon Law is the alleged divine absolutism of the Pope, and that this divine absolutism has been modified, if not nullified, by the present arrangement. The Roman Catholic, who accepts this divine absolutism, accepts Canon Law, which is its emanation,

and which is created, revoked or modified at any time by the action of the Pope alone.

"What you must remember is this: pontifical sovereignty is always there, has always been there in the papal claim. Territorial sovereignty after all is only a decorative ribbon pinned on the Pontiff's breast. Philosophy and the schools cannot say anything about new Vatican territory, but they can say much about the possible influence of pontifical sovereignty upon an individual Catholic's free will."

A prominent international lawyer with whom the writer talked was very pessimistic in his predictions for Italy's Church and State. He maintained that from the point of view of universal Catholicism the Papacy was much better off before the present settlement than she is now. The Vatican's position was extra-legal and theoretically at least international in status. No nation in the world would have dared to act against her. "Now that the Pope is an actual Catholic Sovereign," he asserted, "you have an entirely different set of circumstances confronting Catholic consciences and the governments of the world." He is convinced that the Pope is destined to pay a high price for the opening of his "bronze prison gates." In his opinion the interaction of Canon and Civil law in Italy will be the seed out of which international Catholic chaos and foreign governmental clashes will grow.

As a matter of fact, actual Papal Sovereignty has

already created a problem for Germany. According to an Associated Press despatch the *Berlin Volkszeitung* has brought up the question of treaty jurisdiction between the German States and the Reich in view of the regained temporal independence of the Pope. Inasmuch as the A. P. news cable signals what a Pandora's box the new Italo-pontifical agreement can be, it is quoted below in full:

"The fact that the Holy See hitherto was not a State in the constitutionally accepted sense of the term enabled individual German States, such as Bavaria, to conclude concordats with the Roman Curia. Now that the Papal State has come into existence again, there is the question of application of Article LXXVIII of the Federal Constitution, which provides that all treaties of the German Federal States require the sanction of the Reich. The Reich assumes no responsibility for such separate conventions as may be concluded within their legitimate spheres by the different German States.

"The newspaper points out also that the relationship between the clerical parties and the head of the new Papal State will develop different aspects from those that have existed. It was said it would be necessary to determine whether the Bavarian concordat remained legal and to decide whether the proposed Prussian concordat lay with Prussia or with the Reich.

"The new situation, in view of the importance at-

tached by the Centrist Party (Catholic) to the Concordat, is expected to affect coalition negotiations in the Reich and Prussia. The *Volkszeitung* says Protestantism has been beaten all along the line, and asks how long the evangelical church of Germany will be content to remain in the background and refuse to move with the times."

Ironically enough, the Catholic German-speaking population of the southern Tyrol is already begging the Supreme Pontiff to do a ticklish job. In the Tyrolese section, incorporated into Italy after the world war, the use of the German language was restricted some time back upon the Duce's order, and Italian forcibly substituted. Through such strong-arm methods did Fascism hope to Italianize "the redeemed lands" and their German-speaking inhabitants. The offending and the offended people, who are really Austrians, believe it is now up to the modified Papacy to persuade Mussolini to the restoration of the German language in the Sunday Schools and churches.

An essay, published by the late Gino Speranza in the *Forum* for January, 1928, raised a nice question as to the citizenship of the Pope. With uncanny prescience Mr. Speranza, who was assistant to Ambassador Thomas Nelson Page in the American Embassy at Rome and a close student of comparative religions, anticipated the present crisis. He placed it before the whole body of American Catholicism, but he ad-

dressed his analytical argument especially to America's four Princes of the Church—Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Cardinal Hayes of New York, Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia and Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago.

"To ask what is the citizenship of the Pope seems a simple question but there is no quick, direct road to its answer. Possibly many Americans would say off hand that the Pope is, of course, an Italian citizen, which, very likely, both the Duce at the Foreign Office in Rome and the Cardinal Secretary of State at the Vatican would deny. The chances are . . . that both these high officials would ask to be excused from answering at the present time. The fact is that our question involves some politically sensitive issues of a distinctly European complex, which every Chancellery in the world knows and is preparing for, except perhaps our own State Department. Which makes it more than ever necessary that such issues should be clarified on this side of the Atlantic, and made easily understandable to the average citizen, Catholic or Protestant."

Questions like these, Mr. Speranza wrote, until now have been largely theoretical for American Catholics. "But they have become of practical importance among us through the elevation to the cardinalate of several American prelates. These new Princes of the Church, our fellow citizens, are now lawfully in line for the

Petrine succession. As good Americans, they as well as the rest of us are entitled to know with exactness and official certitude whether, for example, in the event of their elevation to the pontifical throne they would have to forego their American citizenship; or whether they would thereby acquire a new and different citizenship from that of their nativity; or, lastly, whether such high dignity would involve a dual citizenship alien to, and unknown to American jurisprudence.

"It is said that the Pope can not be a 'foreigner' to any Roman Catholic—which is perfectly true but does not enter into the question before us. What is more involved is a matter of law and politics, not of religion; and the issue arises not because of what the Church teaches and stands for in faith and morals, but because of what the Papacy claims as a civil sovereignty. Would or could our Cardinal O'Connell, if elevated to the throne of Peter, remain an American citizen? Or Cardinal Hayes or Cardinal Mundelein? . . .

"It would seem clear that American Catholics, and indeed all Americans are entitled to know exactly and officially what these claims of the Papacy, wrapped up in the obscurities of medieval philosophy and the greater obscurities of Continental political intrigues, really mean, and what they imply for our citizens of Catholic faith. The failure of the Holy See at clarifi-

cation is not only putting the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in the United States and in other European countries on the defensive, but tends to place it under political suspicion."

Mr. Speranza's telling conclusion is a rehearsal of an early American drama given on a now crumbled pontifico-American stage. " 'In making Peter the ruler of his kingdom, He (Christ) did not give him (the Pope) dominion, or wealth, or any of the appendages of royalty. The (Papal) primacy is essentially a spiritual office, which has not of divine right any temporal appendage.'

"These were the views publicly set forth by a distinguished American Bishop, who was both a devout Catholic and, as a citizen of the Republic, a believer in the principles for which this country stands.

"The overwhelming majority of Continental Bishops in the Roman Catholic Hierarchy—most of whom have been and are alien to our political history, ideals and principles—overruled the sentiments expressed by this and other American Roman Catholic prelates, and under the iron rule of the Papacy these critics of a political theory wholly opposed to that of their country had to submit."

In our own day has Father Duffy written a similar attitude into the record? The courageous declaration vibrates to his own world war heroism and might be a psychological throw-back to that heyday of Ameri-

can patriotism. Speaking in New York at a National Republican Club luncheon, January 29, 1928, months before the rebirth of an actual Papal Sovereign in the unmangerlike palace of the Vatican, he declared:

"If the Pope were a civil ruler and there was a conflict, I would go to war against the Pope. The Sixty-ninth Regiment would ask to be sent over first. . . .

" 'No priest in politics!' has always had a very wholesome sound in my ears and I apply it to all of us. If I lived in a country governed by clergymen, I would soon be an emigrant. It is not because I think the clergy are not good enough to govern. It is because I think they are too good to govern. There may be times when affairs are going so badly that a vigorous and honest clergyman would have to step out of his pulpit and take part in the battle, but in general the Church has more to lose than to gain, in results or in prestige, by taking part in political matters."

There are Italians in this country who view Mussolini's latest performance as "just another circus." He must stage periodically dramatic wows for the people or perish. His Fascist vehicle can travel safely only along the highway of popular excitement. "Circuses and bread," you are informed, prevent governmental skidding in present-day Italy quite as much as they did in the days of ancient Rome.

A few Italo-Americans, figuring upon the commer-

cial side of the Italians, decided that both Pope and Duce "must be hard up financially." Allied and enemy nations, impoverished generally by the world war, have cut down considerably their offerings to the Holy See. Peter's Pence and the Vatican's missionary enterprises have never been popular causes in Catholic America. Catholic moneys raised here are likely to be spent here. Owing allegedly to anti-Fascist propaganda abroad the tourist flow into Italy has become a mere trickle, it is reported. This condition, abnormal as it is, has had a serious effect upon the Fascist exchequer. An "unimprisoned and free Pope" directly and indirectly might resuscitate the sickly fortunes not only of the Italian Church but also of the Italian State!

But a local Italian friendly with the writer has still a different tale to tell. Italian war hero and Fascist propagandist though he be, he cynically sees nothing but good Fascist politics behind Mussolini's "magnificent gesture." This skeptic believes that the Duce optimistically took this means to separate the Roman Catholic Croats from the non-Roman Catholic Serbians. The Dictator's aim is the early embarrassment and the eventual undoing of Italy's old foe, Serbia. Mussolini, it is said, is again casting a covetous eye upon the Dalmatian coast, and mentally charting it as a shore line of the Greater Fascist Italy of tomorrow.

In discussing the diplomatic attitude of Pius XI toward the heretical Duce and the unorthodox Governor Smith in an Independent paper a year and more ago, the present writer concluded:

"To all outward appearances the modern test between the Civil State, whether democratic or imperialistic, and a generally religious theocracy is thrillingly at hand. The Papacy did not go out to meet the test. Now that it is here, will the Pope and his Italianized Curia ignore or dodge it? Or, since the State's conversion is practically impossible, squarely face it and conquer or be conquered?"

This thought has been given startling and unexpected reality by today's events. Is not the Pope at last riding openly into the list and with a brandish of his pontifical lance facing victory or defeat?

Be all this as it may, Italian and American cynics alike, who pretend to know their Italy, shake their heads and agree:

"Nothing is ever settled in Italy. Not even the Roman Question."

Even so, there is salient history, backgrounding this Italo-Vatican alliance. What is this history? And what are the international implications of the alliance; its international possibilities?

CHAPTER II

AN INTERNATIONAL DILEMMA

The alliance between the Pope and Mussolini undoubtedly has international implications which are puzzling and even disturbing to the Chancelleries of the Old World and the New. Has His Holiness become an aid to the Fascist Government? Has Mussolini spectacularly placed papal influence behind Fascism for the furtherance of his own ambition, or, religiously speaking, "for the greater honor and glory of God." Such questions as these are being pondered by non-Italian diplomatists, everywhere. No matter what answers the fall and turn of events may give them, this is certain: the Papacy and Italy have turned a fresh page and are writing significant and probably world-affecting history.

To understand the present agreement between Italy and the Pope, we must go back to Italy's Risorgimento of the 1860s, which resulted in the loss of the actual temporal sovereignty of the Papacy. Italian unification was accomplished over the prostrate body of old Austria. The protest of the post-1870 Popes against the Italian Law of Guarantees prevented complete and harmonious Italian unity. This formal papal objection

worked to the benefit of Austria, long pontifically regarded as the protector of the Holy See.

The Austrian Emperor, as King of Hungary, was known to the Vatican as "His Apostolic Majesty." Pius X abolished the exclusive Austrian veto power over the Conclave's selection for the chair of Peter. This Pope-given right had been exercised by Austria to the undoing of Rampolla's election as Pope. Cardinal Rampolla had been Secretary of State to Leo XIII, and favored a political bloc of France, Portugal, Spain and Italy as a Latin balance or counterbalance in Europe.

With Austria dismembered by the world war the tradition-minded Papacy looked to the forming League of Nations for international protection. In this connection a page from the book of secret diplomacy is publicly revealed for the first time. Pius XI, indeed, was not the initial post-1870 pontiff to move for the solution of the Roman problem. The desire for actual temporal sovereignty also possessed the mind of the wartime Pope, Benedict XV. Few are aware that the latter tried and failed to lay his case before President Wilson, Colonel House, Clemenceau and Lloyd George at the Peace Conference. For this purpose His Holiness sent an informal and confidential mission to Paris some time after the Armistice was signed.

This mission was headed by Monsignor Bonaven-

ture Cerretti, then assistant papal Secretary of State for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. His secretary was Rev. Roderick McEachen, D.D., who at the time was on leave of absence from his professorial duties in the Catholic University at Washington. Dr. McEachen was the first American ever appointed to an important diplomatic post by the Papacy. He wrote the voluminous report on the mission's futile siege of Paris.

Before joining the Allies in the world war, Italy had exacted a pledge—long kept secret—from France and England that neither the Pope nor the Roman Question would play a part in the Peace Conference. Benedict XV, however, wished the other allies to persuade or force Italy toward a settlement of this question. He also coveted a place in the League of Nations. Ignoring the Pact of London, his diplomatic representative attempted to establish the contention that the issue between the Vatican and Italy was an international concern. Apart from the restrictions of the confidential agreement with Italy, non-Italian officials made it clear that their respective governments viewed the problem as a local question and not as an international affair. Some of these, as the report goes, suggested to Monsignor Cerretti that he see Orlando, who at the moment was leading the Italian delegation. The papal emissary did so but nothing of permanent importance was achieved.

Thus the present Pontiff only began where his predecessor left off. The former's activity took merely a different direction. The program of Pius does not coincide at all points with the program of the deceased Benedict. Sometime before Monsignor Cerretti's departure from the Vatican for Paris, the writer received, unofficially, the outline of the Benedictine answer to the Roman Question. At that period, I had been detached from the American Embassy at Rome, where I had been helping Ambassador Thomas Nelson Page and was serving as Acting Commissioner for the Committee on Public Information in Italy. Unlike the present pact of Pius XI, this document obtained through the American Seminary on the Via dell'Umilta pressed for the out-and-out internationalization of the proposed Concordat with Italy.

The informal state paper came to me, specifically, through Monsignor Tedeschini, Cardinal Gasparri's wartime assistant papal secretary of state. I dispatched it immediately to American representatives at Paris. Monsignor Charles O'Hearn, rector of the American Seminary, acted as the agent between the papal Secretary of State's office and myself. That instrument like the recent pontifical Agreement abandoned all claim to the former States of the Church as well as to the present city of Rome. A territorial corridor to the sea was mentioned but not exacted. The willingness to be satisfied with the absolute owner-

ship of the Lateran, the papal villa at Castel Gondolfo and a parcel of land about the Vatican, corresponding in general to the Leonine City, was indicated.

Incidentally in the Benedictine solution of Italy's Church-and-State problem there was no open attempt to make Canon Law the legalized rule of life for civil Italy. Certain educational and moral reforms, for the most part granted long since by the Duce, were, it is true, demanded. There was, however, the Benedictine claim that any pontifical Pact with Italy should have the guarantee of all the nations of the world.

Will the course theoretically charted for that earlier proposal be the course followed by the existing treaty? Knowledge of the execution of the alliance between Italy's Church and State governments was to be communicated to all foreign offices, including our own Department of State, both by papal and Italian officialdom. This technique would be nothing but the usual diplomatic practice and in form at no essential variance with the protocol. The communication's receipt could be acknowledged by these several foreign offices. Such acknowledgment in the language of Benedict's diplomacy might be interpreted as a world-wide recognition of the pontifico-Italian treaty and the international nature of the Vatican. In this way Italian sensitiveness, it was believed, could be left

unhurt. Pius and Mussolini conducted their secret negotiations on the platform that the existing problem was not international but a local and Italian one.

Snubbed by the Peace Conference and the League of Nations alike and with an Austria more dead than alive, the Papacy had only one other recourse. That recourse was Italy. There was as much logic as irony in the approach. Notwithstanding the fact that Mussolini for diplomatic reasons has thrown an occasional barrier across the road, he has for the past six years been making the way straight and easy of passage by the Pope. The Duce's Socialist marriage was regulated with benefit of Catholic clergy soon after his march on Rome. He presently censured Italy's pornographic literature and photographs; proscribed night clubs and did away with tenderloins; silenced the anti-clerical group and destroyed their press; abolished Latin Rite Masonry; and restored the crucifix and Catholic instruction to the public schools. During June 1921, even before the triumphant Fascist entry into the city of the Popes and the Caesars, Mussolini had advised His Holiness during a Parliamentary speech in the acoustical Camera:

"I maintain that the Imperial and Latin tradition of Rome is represented today by Catholicism. If, as Mommsen said thirty years ago, one could not stay in Rome without being impressed by the idea of universality, I both think and maintain that the only uni-

versal idea at Rome today is that which radiates from the Vatican. *I am very disturbed when I see national churches formed, because I think of the millions and millions of men who will no longer look toward Italy and Rome.* For this reason I advance this hypothesis, that if the Vatican should definitely renounce its temporal ambitions and I think it is already on the road —Italy ought to furnish it with the necessary material help for the schools, churches, hospitals, etc., that a temporal power has at its disposal. *Because the increase of Catholicism in the world, the addition of four hundred millions of men who from all quarters of the globe look towards Rome is a source of pride and special interest to Italians.*"

Since then, Mussolini has likewise characterized Fascism as a politico-social philosophy, not a mere local government; a universal movement not a fixed and uninspiring Italian nationalism. Not content with this anti-democratic proclamation he has ringed the world with foreign Fascist associations, which labor among his co-nationals and the Italian-born citizens of other countries. The Italian secretary general of these associations sits in Rome at the right hand of the Duce. This official is Mussolini's contact man with the outside and world-embracing Fascist cause.

The secretary general's duties are numerous and important. One of his representatives, named Commissioner by the Duce, arrived in New York during

late February to investigate and supervise the Italo-American press. This secretary general keeps a finger on the pulse of such mixed foreign groups as New York's Italo-American society, which has an American as well as an Italian-born membership. Nor does he keep his hand away from the pie of the Fascist League of North America and from Count Thaon di Revel, who came from Italy to become the League's President. The colleges and universities in the United States are generally so controlled by this ramified Fascist circle that to such prominent educators as Professor Gaetano Salvemini, an anti-Fascist exile, they have closed their rostrums and their forums.

We have seen, then, how Mussolini's endeavors for Italy's unification, which have been compared to the efforts of Louis XIV to unite the French of his day, culminated in his historic Agreement with Pius. Admittedly events must determine the general international consequences of this Convention. On this account the nations of the earth outside of Italy are awaiting watchfully the consummation of the Papacy's marriage with Fascism. Who will prove the dominating partner of the match? Foreign diplomatists are asking one another.

Yet one extraordinary result of that union can be immediately cited, and in view of Mussolini's ambitions many an arresting and meaningful question posed. An outstanding and certain effect is this: the

agreement makes it impossible from an American point of view for an American citizen of Catholic faith ever to become the supreme head of his Church. The pendulum of time has swung and sounded the solution to Mr. Speranza's riddle. Pope Pius XI, it is now evident, is a citizen not of Italy but of the new Papal State. In the late Fascist elections His Holiness was ineligible to vote, although several Italian Cardinals exercised the right of suffrage.

From the moment of his election as Pontiff, the Pope—no matter what his country's flag has been —has to recognize "a new and different flag as the symbol of his political alliance," the yellow and white flag of the Church Temporal. He becomes a ruler "separate from and often, as history tells us, in violent opposition to the land of his native and national allegiance."

The new Papal State will have not only its own citizens but its own stamps, coinage, wireless and railroad station. In these peculiar possessions, all of which are common to civil sovereignties, are a hundred and one international implications. They involve postal and financial relations not only with the United States but also with other foreign countries. From them flow a stream of questions which our Government will have to answer, sooner or later: passport questions, quota questions, possibly naturalization questions. Will coin of the papal realm be interna-

tionally recognized? What luck would a citizen of the Vatican City have in an attempt to exchange his papal scudi for American dollars in a New York bank? Should the Pontiff take the air and broadcast a politico-religious sermon to the Catholics of the world, what would the members of the League of Nations think and do about it?

For some time Mussolini has been revealing clearly the diplomatic directives of his foreign policy. Opposed to any growing Jugoslavia and envious of the eastern Adriatic litoral, he has publicly expressed and assumed the most friendly relations with Hungary. By these tactics the French claim, and many others believe, that the Duce conspires against the stabilization of Central Europe. Mussolini's Hungarian overtures likewise tend to keep the Czecho-Slovaks and Poles in turmoil and militate against such fruits of the allied victory as the security of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. His diplomacy is simultaneously antagonistic to the Anschluss, which would bring a reformed Austria into a new German State and give Italy and Germany a common border.

The Duce's exertions to gain the domination of the Balkans long ago brought him afoul of the Quai d'Orsai. Feeling, like many Italians, that Italy had missed an opportunity in the past, he acted, also, as if he were casting an envious eye on Tunis. Hoping to distract France and concern her elsewhere, the

Duce sent General Ricciotti Garibaldi into Spain to stir up Spanish animosity against the French. Briand later proved Garibaldi a paid agent of Fascism and a Mussolinian spy in spite of Garibaldi's association and work with the Italian anti-Fascist group in Paris. Mussolini's maneuvers, however, won Italy special and preferential treatment in Tunis, which, dreaming Fascists muse, would make the natural cornerstone of the future Italy's colonial empire in Africa.

In view of these diplomatic signals of the Duce, the international policy of His Holiness will be a matter of absorbing interest. To all outward appearances the Church and State in Italy have merged. Does this mean that the Papacy will follow Fascism in its Balkan and Hungarian adventures and anti-French and anti-Jugo-Slav intrigues? If so, will His Holiness or the Catholic Duce seek to influence the Catholic groups in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and France against the civil interests of their respective countries? If such an attempt be made and these foreign Catholics show themselves to be more patriotic than religious, what then?

The pontifico-Fascist Treaty and the Concordat undoubtedly give Mussolini's foreign propaganda a new point of departure. Fascism has suddenly taken on a Catholic significance, which it never had before. Its political message has been unexpectedly charged with the electricity of a religious appeal. If Mussolini's

outside propagandists preach a new governmental gospel, what effect will it have on Italians abroad and foreign Catholics generally? Will they be susceptible to such a holy apostleship? Or will they be suspicious of Fascism's odor of sanctity? One's mental machine whirls before the possibilities in Italy's union of Church and State.

The Italian Government has never recognized American naturalization, as far as her native-born sons and co-nationals go. Italian-born boys and girls, who have never seen Italy and have their interests and affections in the United States, are regarded as subjects and citizens of Italy by Mussolini and his régime. Our ambassadors to Italy have sought for years to remedy this evil but failure has marked each effort. This "double citizenship" furnishes the Duce with a handle of propaganda, which he has not been slow to turn.

Certainly, Pope Pius in recent months has been loud in his praise of the Duce and Fascism. After that history-breaking and history-making episode in the Lateran did he not refer to Mussolini as the man "sent by God!" In dignifying him and eulogizing his autocratic and one-party Government did not Pius XI realize that he struck at the democratic principle of popular sovereignty and the fundamental civil liberties of free speech, free press and free assembly! If there be any logic in action, is not the Pope-Sover-

eign committed to the Fascist program and Italy's Fascists committed to the Papacy's?

Americans have sufficient reason to pose such questions and seek the appropriate information. Months before the 1922 march on Rome, when Mussolini was originating the program of Fascism and giving it direction, he made Uncle Sam his laughing stock and target. The United States was seen as a materialistic Frankenstein that had to be destroyed for fear that it might not destroy itself. This colossal automaton flung a baleful shadow across the world and the Duce thought that it would blight European thought unless Europe interfered. He saw or pretended to see the iron prongs of the American machine growing like ugly dragon's teeth in the soil, which traditionally produced an Old World spirit and a Latin culture.

Rome falling before his peaceful revolution, he envisioned, as his utterances then indicated and present events show, pontifical coöperation in his tremendous enterprise. Universal man versus the American machine was his battle cry. The mote in his own eye blinded him to those other machines, political, social and religious, which disturb and shake the Old World. Given his Ancient Roman complex, the Duce's dominating obsession was to pit Fascism against Democracy and other governmental forms in a world-wide contest, aiming at the survival of the fittest.

Mussolini was convinced that the historic source of universal culture was destined to change from the Old World to the New, unless the Europeans took up spiritual arms against "American materialism." Besides, he viewed the fulcrum of international trade as swinging from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, unless the European nations awoke and somehow stopped it. The Duce of that day predicted a Nippo-American war for commercial supremacy on the Pacific. In his early Fascist days he went out of his way to be cordial to Japan. Needing and receiving American money to cement his Fascist house, the Duce has long since muted this more vibrant anti-American music. But even now the barb occasionally penetrates the camouflaged wire. As late as June 6, 1928, in his speech on foreign relations before the Italian Senate, Mussolini declared:

"In North America there is an important state stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific with 120,000,000 inhabitants, with unbounded wealth, with a gigantic capacity for work and with exceptional technical and scientific progressiveness—the United States.

"The republic of the Star Spangled Banner has since the war played a very great, if not preponderant, rôle in World history. The financial center of the world has shifted from Europe to America. The United States has credits aggregating $12,000,000,

000 in all countries of the world, especially Europe. *American initiative seems determined to conquer Europe.*

"Study this phenomenon about which numerous books have been written. It would take me too far. Besides, the phenomenon is taking place before our eyes in many different forms, ranging from philanthropy to farming, and from science to industry. *It is impossible to foresee to what point the bow of American desire for power will be bent or what resistance it may encounter.*"

Previously the Duce had publicly foreseen another war by 1935 and had demanded Italy's preparedness. He had called for an army of 5,000,000 men and a fleet of planes which would hide the clouds. In the camera of his prophetic eye what nation's picture was impressed upon the film?

Our Catholic neighbors in Latin America and the Monroe Doctrine make the international implications of the pontifico-Fascist treaty of tremendous moment to the United States. How would Mexico and the Catholic countries of Central and South America react to any anti-Washington diplomacy or enterprise on Mussolini's part? Italy, it must be remembered, has a large immigrant scattering of subjects and native-born through Latin America. These would be the immediate target of any overt propaganda of Fascism against us. In fact the Fascist movement is al-

ready well organized and flourishing in a number of Central and South American countries.

Leo XIII was the last papal mediator between nations. During his reign he acted as negotiator between two South American countries. One Catholic historian sees the probability of the new Pope-Sovereign acting in similar international disputes. If he does so act, will he not be conflicting or at any rate competing with the League of Nations? The press has just reported that a Yugo-Slav priest of the Roman Catholic Church has been appointed as the first foreign minister to the Court of the new temporal sovereignty. His acceptance by the Papacy elicits the query: Will the modern world see a species of Catholic League of Nations? Fascist Italy and Mussolini have never been enthusiastic about the League headquarters at Geneva.

Pius XI and other popes before him claimed that as spiritual rulers of the Catholic world they were unjustly restricted in universal action by Italy's Law of Guarantees. Let us take the world war as a test and examine certain salient facts. In the midst of that struggle Benedict XV was elected to the Papacy by cardinals of allied and enemy countries alike. All these safely entered and safely left Italy. Italy herself was engaged in war when Benedict's first consistory was held in peace and security. The attending crowds spoke freely in German as well as in Italian,

French and English. There was no demonstration of any kind against the German cardinal, Hartmann.

"But if proof were needed of the freedom of the Papacy," writes Gino Speranza in a wartime Outlook, "it seems to me it would be found in the fact that Benedict XV, in the midst of a tremendous world conflict, and while Italy was under the fearful strain and tension of its greatest war, was able and did solemnly and officially speak against the very State which he alleges has deprived him of his freedom as Head of Catholicism."

The Italian Government denied the papal charge that diplomatic officials representing enemy countries at the Holy See had been forced to leave Rome. The Government contended that these representatives had left of their own volition and were shown official courtesy and popular respect on the way out. Moreover, any postal, telegraph or railroad delay in papal communications was a natural consequence of war, Italian officialdom attested.

On the other hand the Government had her own list of complaints against the Pope, not the least of which was the case of Monsignor Gerlach. He was a German attached to the Vatican staff. The Italian Intelligence Service had him listed as a German financial agent, interested in the pro-German possibilities of several Italian newspapers. Ambassador Page once pointed out to the writer some letters in his

private file and said that they incriminated Gerlach. The Italian bill of particulars against the Pope also charged certain of the Vatican's Swiss guards with pro-German activities. Many of these guards were then and are now of German blood.

Treaties sometimes turn into scraps of paper. The next Italian Government, especially should it be anti-Fascist, could repudiate the Agreement of this one. On this point a possibly prophetic paper in an old *Outlook* dwells thus: "If the Papacy fears that the solemn pledge of the Italian nation made after long discussion in times of peace, might be violated, how can it feel any surer that the Italian nation at war, unhampered by any legal restraint on its sovereignty, might not invade the Papal State? Does not an unbroken line of precedents demonstrate clearly that when the Papacy held temporal power it was constantly subject to the violation and invasion of its temporal territory? What would be the difference in permanency or safety for the Papacy between an Act of Parliament of the Italian people, such as the Law of Guarantees, and a treaty or convention between the King of Italy and the Pope-Sovereign of Rome?"

In some form or other the matter of the new alliance is certain to be a subject of discussion in the next Congress. Nothing could open the flood gates of popular polemic as quickly as a Congressional reso-

lution designed to effect the appointment of an American Minister to the Papal Court. It is true that the United States did have ministerial representatives at some pre-70 Papal Courts. But at such times the Holy See boasted a seaport and the States of the Church were of considerable extent. We then had "commercial interests at stake."

Besides, in our early Civil War period, when England and much of Europe favored the cause of the South, Washington felt the need of diplomatic contact with the Papacy and through it with the Catholic world. Particularly since Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, was known to be in correspondence with Pope Pius IX.

However, our internal conditions as well as our external conditions have changed considerably since that epoch. In addition to our own transformation, the Vatican Oecumenical Council in 1870 officially promulgated the doctrine of infallibility in matters of faith and morals. The United States Government has never had an accredited minister at the court of a Sovereign claiming infallibility of any kind. Did the November voters register the hope that it never would have such representation? Should we be represented there, moreover, the Papacy would return a papal nuncio to Washington, who at the worst might be the victim or the master of the Italian ambassador, and at the least his collaborator.

The Curial Government of the Church does not contain a single Cardinal-Representative of American Catholicism. In fact, the Italian Cardinals since 1870 have had the controlling vote in every Conclave. The outside Catholic world was informed always that "the delicate situation existing between Church and State in Italy" made necessary this preponderating Italian majority. Now that this "delicate situation" is a thing of the past one wonders whether the College of Cardinals will at last be democratized. Will the Roman Catholic masses of the various nations be given proportionate representation in that College and that Curia and so make practically possible the election of a foreign and, perhaps, anti-Fascist Pope? Or will an Italian majority, representing Italy's comparative handful of Catholics, continue to speak in the Papacy and Curia for the Universal Church?

The answers to these questions will go far toward revealing whether the Pope or the Duce was the dominant participant in the wedding of Italy's Church and State. At the same time, no circumstance can alter the fact that as pieces of astute diplomacy on the part of both Pope and Duce, nothing like these three pontifico-Fascist accords has ever been recorded in modern history, whether sacred or profane. They are not, nevertheless, out of harmony with the Latin mind.

An Italian's ideas and his actions "frequently have no relationship." Such a nature is essentially realis-

tic. The American mentality looks at this Old World phenomenon and concludes: "Opportunist!" Glancing in his mirror the Italian smilingly answers: "No, not an 'opportunist,' a growing mind."

CHAPTER III

THE PEACE-MAKING POPE

"Pax Christi in regno Christi." Unexpectedly elected to the Papacy eight years ago, Achille Ratti chose this motto for his pontificate. "The peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ." So little was he aware of his destiny, when as Cardinal-Archbishop he entrained from Milan for the papal Conclave at Rome, that he bought a round trip railroad ticket. He always, so the Roman anecdote goes, kept this return ticket as an augury of the settlement of the Roman Question and his subsequent release from self-imposed imprisonment in the Vatican.

The motto was in spiritual keeping with the name he chose, Pius XI, "Pius meaning peace." Both motto and name were instinctive and were unhesitatingly uttered for all the unexpectedness of his ascension to the chair of Peter. All those first gestures were prophetically pacific. There was the new Pope's unprecedented blessing of the Piazza crowd from the outside tribuna of St. Peter's. His benediction, moreover, was not only for the cheering thousands below him but also for the city and the world. To the reactionary Cardinal who sought to prevent this outside ceremony, Pius XI pointedly observed:

"I am the Supreme Pontiff."

This indication of authority was not lost upon his hearers. The recently elected Pontiff might have been Pius IX, uttering the famous dictum: "I am tradition!" Those who had just assisted at the naming of a new Pope must have remembered Cardinal Ratti's independence in the Conclave. It was through no fault of his that the pontifical election had been effected without the presence of a single American Cardinal. He was one of the few Italian Cardinals who ignoring precedence agreed to postpone the final voting until the arrival of Cardinal O'Connell. The American prelate at the time had reached the Italian shore, and feeling certain of voting was rushing from Naples to Rome in a special train.

With his undiplomatic flashes of pacifisms Pius XI proved a new kind of problem for the more political Cardinals of the Curia to solve. He had never been, in their sense of the word, an ecclesiastical diplomatist of career. In fact his very Cardinalate was less than two years old when he was elevated to the Papacy. Apart from the months he had passed as Benedict XV's apostolic visitor and nuncio to Poland he could boast of no official diplomatic experience. He was the compromise choice of the Conclave. His inexperience was viewed by the more active ultramontane figures in the Curia as pliable ignorance.

His first pacific steps could have gone exceedingly

hard with him, if he had not somewhat smoothed their trail by the reappointment of Cardinal Gasparri as Secretary of State. This move satisfied the more hostile Curial faction and afforded the new Pope certain leisure and freedom for the consolidation of his early pontificate. These nettled prelates nodded affirmatively when the Italian expert, who unofficially read the handwriting of the new Pope, concluded: "an honest, pious and kindly scholar but a mind with no diplomatic quality."

Achille Ratti was born at Descio in Lombardy during the year 1858. Descio is a little town of some 8,000 persons, situated northwest of Milan. Like Mussolini Pius XI today considers himself a Milanese. The older Ratti was a prosperous silk merchant and Achille was the third of a family of six. He was a well-balanced child who liked the adventure of the great outdoors quite as much as he liked the romance of books. In fact, it was not until the bronzen gates shut him within the narrow confines of the Vatican that he ceased to practice what he preached: "A sound mind in a sound body."

Appreciating his son's talents the senior Ratti was only too happy to turn him over to the scholastic nourishment of Padre Volonteri. To this old and devoted priest-professor the present Pope owes much. He prepared him for the diocesan seminary, which was one of the first stations in his intellectual journey

to the Lombard College at Rome. This teacher, locally famous but uncelebrated beyond the limits of his *paese,* not only uncovered but polished the nuggets in his charge's deep and pious mentality.

The scholarly pupil was ordained to the priesthood in 1878. In 1882 early parochial duties gave way to professorial activity. From 1882 to 1888 he was the professor of Dogmatic Theology and Sacred Eloquence in the seminary of his diocese. This teaching was the crown of doctorates in Theosophy, Theology and Canon Law. However, his career started temperamentally only when he was appointed a member of the staff of the Ambrosian Library at Milan in 1888. Nineteen years later he was elected as the Library's head.

He by no means neglected the physical man during this stretch of intellectual and cloistered work. Holidays found him in his beloved mountains. Climbing fascinated him and no peak was too high for his venturesome daring. He was the first person to climb the precipitous crags of Mount Blanc from the Italian side. Not the compositions of his serious writings on the classics and religion, it is privately reported, have stirred him most. He is said to have gained his greatest literary thrills from the humbler story of some Alpine adventure. This outdoor interest of the priest, Ratti, developed into a propaganda which contributed

to the promotion and popularity of Alpine Clubs throughout northern Italy.

In 1911 came one of those periods of nostalgia into which the life of Pius XI so movingly divides itself. In that year he was "promoted" to Rome, where he was made assistant prefect of the Vatican Library. Before two years had elapsed he was chosen prefect. Under the new librarian age-old archives became something more than cumbersome ornaments; fading and dog-eared manuscripts something more than picturesque or ignored curiosities. A scientific system of filing and modern methods of index and catalogue were inaugurated. With the aid of experts from the Congressional Library, that Vatican librarian, now Pius XI, completed this task a twelfth-month since.

The gravity of the world war pulled the Vatican librarian from his natural moorings. Pope Benedict needed him for his diplomatic corps and willy or nilly he had to leave his beloved books and the library activity for which he had such a passionate aptitude. So to Poland he went in 1918 on his first and only pre-papal diplomatic mission. This "assignment coincided with the composition of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty by the Germans who were in occupation" of the country at the time and "had placed Warsaw under the control of a council of regents whom the Poles regarded as instruments of German domination."

He remained in Poland throughout the period of

its "political resurrection." His offices gave him access to the former Russian provinces along the eastern frontier and from a distance he watched the various phases of the Russian revolution. He stuck to his post, when the Bolshevists invaded Poland during July, 1920. A year previously, when the Poles had declared themselves a nation and set up a central Government, Monsignor Ratti was made papal nuncio. His tact and simple friendliness disarmed the suspicious and he was soon acting as High Ecclesiastical Commissioner for the plebiscite in Upper Silesia.

Under pressure of his pleas the Bolshevists opened their prison gates and released the Archbishop of Mohileff and the Bishop of Minsk. His philanthropic concern for the starving children of Russia and Poland made him acquainted with the American Relief Mission. On one occasion, at least, it is said, he met and talked with Herbert Hoover. This man as President of the United States may be called upon to pass politically upon the international status of the present temporal sovereignty of the one-time nuncio at Warsaw. What chances and changes have befallen these two war-time figures, who loomed large in the popular mind as mere relief workers!

In 1919 Monsignor Ratti was made Archbishop of Milan. Two years afterward, at the Consistory of 1921, he was created a Cardinal. Within a year Benedict was dead and the unambitious Milanese, who

thought in terms of book-hunting and mountain-climbing, was sitting poised but a little breathless in the chair of Peter. Thrilled by such sudden and belated advancement but sympathetic toward an athlete consigned to the squirrel cage of the Vatican, some Milanese friends sent the new Pope a luxurious motor car. A message that the machine was for use in the Vatican gardens accompanied it. Pius XI ought to have laughed at the naïveté. The "mountain" might have been sent, almost as logically, to Mahomet with the injunction that he use it as a pocket piece.

At the time of his elevation to the Papacy, liberal American Catholics had hoped that Pius XI would win the title of "sociological Pope." There was a Milanese background and a priestly and episcopal philosophy, which seemingly augured such a christening. But he was weakened by, if he did not succumb to, the traditional atmosphere of Curia. The brotherhood of man is a sermon which has been less upon the pontifical lips than the love of a Catholic God. The sociology that might be the guiding thread from the labyrinth of life has frayed away to mere religious formalism. Social practice has become pure Metaphysics.

Once within recent memory official American Catholics defied Pius XI, partly on sociological, partly on theological grounds. Without any previous warning to the American episcopate the Supreme

Pontiff several years ago ordered the immediate dissolution of the National Catholic Welfare Council, headquartered at Washington. The American Hierarchy obeyed neither the letter nor the spirit of the pontifical decree. Instead, a committee of two American Bishops was hurriedly dispatched by the local Hierarchy to the Holy See. The order of dissolution was subsequently revoked. His Holiness maintained that he had signed the decree without understanding its content, when the Consistorial Congregation had passed it on to him.

One wonders what the reaction of Piux X would have been in a similar contingency. "The Peasant-Pope" had a sense of humor, which is strangely lacking in his successor. He could take a joke and give a joke and many a delightful *bon mot* of his is still sound currency in the verbal exchange of Rome. There were times, when he chuckled even over some coarse-grained story from his ever-remembered Veneto. A story made the coarser by its telling in the Venetian. Faced by American indignation, Pius XI did not smilingly escape from a situation but built a diplomatic bridge across the chasm.

Behind this attempted disorganization of the National Catholic Welfare Council was a phase of American ecclesiastical politics and the ultramontane policy of Cardinal De Lai, the Consistorial Congregation's head. De Lai also took the opportunity to act against

similarly independent Catholic organizations in other parts of the world. They smelled of "modernism" and "socialism" to his medieval nostrils. The word "Council" in the National Catholic Welfare Council's title represented the first and the industrial researches and recommendations of the Council's Social Action Department represented the second. American Catholic capitalists had reported indirectly to Rome that certain officials in the Council had radical tendencies.

The Papacy of course did not acknowledge an out and out mistake. Pius XI ordered the title, National Catholic Welfare Council, changed to National Catholic Welfare Conference. According to the strict interpretation of Canon Law local Bishops cannot "council," the word having a legislative intention; they may only "conference." The American organization, although once condemned without a hearing by a Pontiff who acted as judge and jury, is functioning today. Its few "radicals" remain in their posts.

After the signing of the Concordat Pius XI gave an exclusive interview to Thomas B. Morgan who represents the United Press association at Rome. The Pope ignored any real or alleged Catholic objections to the nature of the new peace along the Tiber. With the Vatican as his loud speaker His Holiness heard the whole world of Roman Catholicism broadcasting unequivocal congratulations and prayerful thanksgiving. The U.P. story, which was extensively printed

not only in this country's but in the world's press, follows in part:

"Rome, Feb. 21 (United Press)—Pope Pius XI expressing his tremendous pleasure at the jubilation by Catholics everywhere in the world over the Vatican's settlement with Italy told the United Press in an exclusive interview today that the accord itself is only a beginning.

"The fruits of the agreement are still to come," the Pontiff said, adding "We now begin to put into force the things we have established, and there is still much work to be done. . . .

"It is wonderful to hear news from all over the World of how the great event of the past few days has been received. We have received a real avalanche of telegrams of jubilation and a real world-wide expression of delight from even the remote places."

The Pope expressed pleasure with the joyful response of Catholics; and with the manners in which they flocked to the churches to observe the event.

"From North America and South America have come hundreds of telegrams," the Pope continued. "From even as far away as Australia they come in by scores and, then, too, from far off New Zealand. It is gratifying to us to learn of these expressions and to feel the whole Catholic world has received the events of the past few days with this remarkable joy, which

shows that they have understood with us and that they rejoice with us." . . .

His person seemed to radiate power. As sovereign pontiff on whom the spiritual responsibility for 300,000,000 Catholics depends he seemed fully to express that lofty responsibility and to embody it. . . .

"People all over the world have crowded churches to offer thanks, as if, indeed, the reconciliation were a part of them, and it was a part of them. The fact that it was so far away from them in distance did not lessen their great joy, but even added to their pleasure. It was as if there were a real festive occasion in their own country."

"We have received telegrams from Providence, R. I., and from San Antonio, Texas, and naturally from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington and Boston," he said. "They all express this great joy. . . .

"Yes," he said, "from Cardinal Hayes and other cardinals came wonderful telegrams and from Mgr. Schrembs of Cleveland and from Mgr. Hickey, Bishop of Providence. They say the churches never were so full and the people never so enthusiastic in responding to the feeling of joy which this great event means.

"From all parts of South America came cablegrams showing the joy there is just as great as everywhere. And we share that joy, for we believe it has been God's will."

The Holy Father turned to the subject of the agreement itself and, after noting that the justice of the settlement had been recognized by such a great part of the world, he said:

"Well, it is accomplished now, and what is more, the fruits of it are still to come.

"It is in the future that we will see the good that it will bring, for this is just the commencement. We now begin to put into force the things which we have established and there is still much work to be done."

* * *

Now that the Holy See has made its peace with the Quirinal, what are "the things," which His Holiness vaguely says remain to be done? The reunion of the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches with Rome is one of "the things." Pius XI has made no diplomatic secret of the fact that this reunion and the Roman Question's settlement were aims very close to his heart. Bobbing about the waters of the Vatican's Near East and Russian Relief, like a cork on a fishing line, is the possibility of this rapprochement. The healing of the Byzantine schism, which is a thousand years old, would be to the pontifical mind a great stride toward Christian Unity. Such an achievement would make the pontificate of Pius XI a unique gem in the tiara of the Popes.

The resumption of the Ecumenical Council, promised apparently for 1930, will probably shed addi-

tional and fuller light on the ultimate significance of "the-peace-of-Christ-in-the-kingdom-of-Christ" motto of Pius XI. The peace, which the Holy Father's policy and personality stress so constantly and consistently, to all appearances is the religious peace of Roman Catholicism. Armed with the crucifix he seems as Pope-Sovereign ready to fight spiritual battles and mediate concrete and physical wars. There are many who are prepared to believe that he will press for the definition of temporal power as a dogma of the Church, when the Ecumenical Council reconvenes at Rome.

On the other hand the Duce appears much less sincere, much less self-hypnotically inspired than the Pontiff. The former is Moliere's Tartufe to the life. He dresses each new Napoleonic pose in older and more ragged sackcloth. Indeed, the Fascist show never ends. It is always beginning.

"The author—Mussolini—efficient journalist that he is," biographizes Signora Sarfatti, "is never lacking (even when he is amusing himself with his screed) in the infallible flair for what will strike the public. With all his own mental superiority, he knows how to stand for the public and the people himself. He has, moreover, a great relish for the tragic, as well as for vivid colors and heavy shades. This intuitive communion with the feelings of the mob enables him now in his capacity as statesman and head of the Government to keep his finger upon the pulse of the nation."

CHAPTER IV

A STUDY IN OPPORTUNISM

ACTUALLY, the signature of Mussolini, representing the Italian State and of Cardinal Gasparri, representing the Papacy, effected the settlement of the Roman Question. Sovereign ratifications on the part of Parliament, King and Pope are merely formal and technical ceremonies. The official documents signed by the statesman and the churchman include a Treaty, a Concordat and a financial Convention. In the last Italy acknowledges and promises to pay the Holy See a debt of 750,000,000 lire, or approximately $80,000,000.

Kept a close official secret for three weeks, the full texts of the pontifico-Fascist Convention were published, March the fifth, in the United States. Owing to a United Press scoop, this historic news found its way into a single New York newspaper, the *New York Evening Sun*. The complete story of Herbert Hoover's inauguration as President of the United States "broke" the same day. Neither Pope nor Duce could compete in the American press with Calvin Coolidge's successor. Yet this Old World alliance probably will be far more reaching and lasting in its effects upon

our history than the induction of any modern President into the White House.

In the inspired dispatches, preceding the event of the Agreement, the statement was clear that the Canon Law of the Church, at least in part, was incorporated into the Laws of the State. However, in the State papers themselves the phrase, "Canon Law," is conspicuously absent as such from the wording of the contents. But its substance and its spirit are plainly carried in the articles of the threefold Convention.

The published Treaty presupposes that the new Vatican City is a natural international entity, the capital of a God-ordained politico-religious United States. Although the premise will scarcely be admitted by the Protestant countries or the Protestants of the world, the Treaty's provisions are essentially based upon this presumption. The fact that Italy alone definitely and officially accepts and recognizes the temporal sovereignty of the Popes as materially framed in a new papal state does not preclude the frequent use of the phrase, "in conformity with the regulations of international law," in the Treaty's composition. In view of this recourse, what becomes of the Church doctrine that the Pope is above and beyond all human law? Upon the assumption of Duce and Pope alone is the Vatican City's internationality proclaimed and attested and diplomatically imposed upon Catholic and non-Catholic governments alike. The promise that

the Holy See will move and have her being in the family of nations whether the rest of the family like it or not is implicit in the agreement.

The Treaty involves the abandonment of any previous papal arrangements with Austria. At the same time it picks and chooses from the 1815 Treaty of Vienna and makes the Papacy's ambassadorial nuncios the deans of all local diplomatic corps by the very virtue of their office. Aiming at official international recognition and acceptance the Treaty is not without its diplomatic catches. In the clause regulating the visés of foreign travelers to the Vatican City by nuncios abroad there is an obvious endeavor to widen the circle of official pontifical diplomacy so that it will embrace Washington and such other national capitals as are now isolated.

On the other hand the Concordat between Italy and the Papacy is local rather than international in its significance and implication. Yet more than one clause reveals the exclusive and the excluding religious spirit of the Vatican and affords the student a reflective view of conditions in a world, officially Catholic. Both Treaty and Concordat are introduced by the clause, "In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity," but it is the former international instrument which suggestively "recognizes and reaffirms" the "Roman Catholic Apostolic religion" as "the sole religion of the state."

The Concordat in its turn recites the consequences of this recognition and reaffirmation. Neither Italian Protestantism nor Italian Judeaism is given legal status in either document. These non-Catholic sects are not even mutually cited as juridical exceptions to the general Catholic religious economy of Italy. In the last analysis Protestantism is viewed as a heresy to be civilly tolerated but not legally dignified and Judeaism is spiritually Ghetticized as in the Middle Ages. Although the Catholic religion is to be taught in Italy's public schools, no mutual pontifico-Fascist provision is made for the isolation of non-Catholic students. The Concordat's spirit, moreover, indicates clearly that Catholics will be favored over non-Catholics for public office. Logically, should not all non-Catholics be excluded from the realm?

As some outsiders anticipated Mussolinian Fascism for the time being at least seems to have outstripped the Papacy in this diplomatic bargain hunt. Witness articles XIX and XX of the Concordat:

> The choice of archbishops and bishops belongs to the Holy See. Before an archbishop, bishop or coadjutor with the right of succession is nominated, the Holy See shall communicate the name of the chosen person to the Italian Government, in order to be sure that the Government has no objections of a political nature against such person. The formalities to this effect shall be carried out with all possible haste and with the greatest discretion, so that secrecy

about the chosen candidate shall be maintained until he is formally nominated.

All bishops, before their installation in their respective dioceses, shall take an oath at the hands of the Premier under the following formula:

"Before God and on the Holy Gospels I swear and promise to respect the King and Government as they are established under the constitutional laws of the State. I furthermore swear and promise not to participate in any agreement or attend any council which would be injurious to the Italian State, or to the public peace, and not to permit my clergy any such participation. Being mindful only of the welfare and interest of the Italian State, I will endeavour to avoid anything which might menace them."

With any agreeable Italian government and an intransigent Papacy, Italy's new Canon Law statutes could be stretched to extraordinary lengths. The spirit of medieval enterprise is in the Concordat even if the flesh be unwilling or weak. Although it is the first time that any modern nation has been so definitely and extensively put on the basis of Canon Law, one can scarcely believe that the inquisitorial ghost of the Middle Ages has returned to haunt present-day Italy. Yet as far back as two years ago official Fascism tabooed blasphemy. Now, it is not impossible that it will become a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment for an Italian Catholic to eat meat on Friday. Fundamentally regarded, the purple patch of

Medievalism has been sewed upon the fabric of Civil Government in that Fascist nation.

Nothing in the whole arrangement manifests more pontifical finesse than an innocent-looking sentence, beginning Article VII of the Treaty:

> In territory surrounding Vatican City the Italian Government pledges not to permit new construction which overlooks Vatican City.

In that clause, which is significantly incorporated in the International Agreement, might be sounded something like the deathknell of American Methodist activity at Rome. Pius XI has carried on the quarrel of his predecessor with Dr. Tipple, who was for years head of the American Methodist missionary movement in Italy. President Roosevelt and Vice-President Fairbanks each caught a spattering of dust from this religious controversy during their passage through Rome.

The Catholic clericals and the Methodist leaders, especially in Dr. Tipple's time, were wont to deal in personalities. This added considerable spice to a naturally hot polemic. Feeling that some symbol of Protestantism should tower in the Roman landscape, the Methodists tried to purchase a large section of Monte Mario. This hill, which is like a high back drop over Rome, frowns down upon the Vatican gardens. A site near the top in the Methodist intention was to be

occupied by a group of Methodist buildings, collegiate and otherwise. The Americans had already gotten their hands on the slopes of Monte Mario—where they have since erected one college structure—when the Duce acted. He practically confiscated the hill's summit for use as a national park and insisted that the Methodist give the Italian Government permission to build a "scenic drive" through a part of their property. It was an open secret at Rome that Mussolini's action followed a private but a sharply couched anti-Methodist plea from the Papacy.

Article VII is designed to prevent the return of any such Protestant crisis to Catholic Rome. Like the traditional Cross of Constantine the historic dome of St. Peter's will go on dominating the Eternal City's skyline. The pride of the Pope will be governmentally protected from the "insult and injury" of proselytizing Protestantism. Like a sermon in stone not Protestantism but Catholicism will rule the Holy City's landscape as the colossus of Rhodes once ruled the waves of the Ægean Sea.

But is the papal head that wears the triple crown altogether easy? Despite the tumultuous thanksgiving of the Catholic world, one pontifical ear might be catching the subtler echo of the all-for-the-state pantheism of the Catholic Mussolini, while the other ear might be hearing the far away cry of the unorthodox Governor Smith: "I am an American Catholic."

Through its organ, El Debate, Spanish clericalism a twelfth month since condemned the Fascist formula of Government as "the pantheist and pagan nationalism of Fascism." This nationalism, argued the clerical organ, leads to "imperialism" and "war."

The traditional scrutinizing mind of the Curia must see the potential specter of an anathematized "National Church" in the Smith phrase, "American Catholic." Also, "evidence of modernism" in the Governor's unmodified credo of the "absolute separation" of Church and State. Notwithstanding the weakness in the formally orthodox and metaphysical body of Smith's *Atlantic* reply to Charles C. Marshall, there is challenge, whether conscious or unconscious, in that incisive concluding creed. Besides, even in the letter's body there are veins of independent argument, having no resemblance to anything in the political anatomy of the hoary Vatican. These apparently led the *New York Times* to editorialize with the utmost insouciance that the Papacy looked at American Catholicism as a special case.

An American Catholic governor, aided and abetted by an American Catholic priest, Father Francis Duffy, might dismiss papal encyclicals with an airy wave of the mental hand, but the haughty Roman Curia does not. These circular letters have been traditionally accepted by Catholic clergy and laity alike as authoritative if not infallible statements, looking

toward worldwide Catholic discipline and welfare. This attitude toward these pontifical messages to the world's Catholic bishops has been the rule, no matter what the occasional and pontifically unpopular exception has been. Did not four American Catholic bishops in immediate post-war days take the capital-and-labor encyclical of Leo XIII and apply it to present-day industrial relations in the United States? Was not that application realized in the Social Reconstruction Program of the National Catholic Welfare Council, with headquarters at Washington, D. C.?

Now comes the breezy Governor of New York independently demanding of Mr. Marshall "by what right do you expect me to assume responsibility for every statement that may be made in any encyclical letter?" Or again, "so little are these matters the essence of my faith that I, a devout Catholic since childhood, never heard of them until I read your letter." The theological naïveté of the man must make the high gods laugh, although their vicars frown.

Then, the almost facetious "you seem to think that Catholics must be all alike in mind and in heart, as though they had been poured into and taken out of the same mold." Neither Supreme Pontiff nor Curial Cardinal would find humble faith and respectful spirit in the final retort: "You have no more right to ask me to defend as part of my faith every statement coming from a prelate than I should have to

ask you to accept as an article of your religious faith every statement of an Episcopal bishop, or of your political faith every statement of the president of the United States."

It took Pope Pius only a moment to set the Duce right on the "union" of Italy's Church and State. Speaking at Rome before the four thousand Fascist chiefs, who composed the first Quinquennial Council of Fascism, Mussolini had said:

"Only with conciliation has the separation of Church and State become complete. Each now has its rights and duties, and each can collaborate with the other as a sovereign independent State. The instincts of the people often come nearer the truth than the brainy lucubrations of intellectuals. The Italian people feel that the solution of the Roman Question is reason for pride and evidence of the strength of the Fascist régime."

Through the Osservatore Romano the Vatican reacted to this feeler or questioning of Mussolini in true, diplomatic fashion. According to an Associated Press despatch, "the paper applauds the Premier's statement on the Church's special position in Italy and his declaration of pride that Rome is the seat of Catholicism. It adds that he, by interpreting 'separation' as 'distinction' between Church and State renders that situation acceptable to the Church."

In the same speech the Duce reiterated that Italy

"has the unique privilege of giving hospitality to a religion which now counts almost 2,000 years of history."

To quote the *New York Times* again, *"it is not chance,* he said, that Rome is the seat of Christianity. It is not chance that the language of the Church is the language of Italy. Yet Rome had to be the capital of the Italian Kingdom. This created a state of enmity between Church and State which has been a thorn in Italy's side for more than half a century.

" 'But conciliation is at last achieved through the separation of Church and State,' he continued. 'Each now has its own duties and each can collaborate with the other as a free sovereign State in treaties, as every one must admit their fundamental justice. Conciliation is always preferable to enmity and peace to war.

" 'The Catholic religion has a preëminent position in Italy, but other religions must be neither persecuted nor hindered nor otherwise interfered with.'

"There is neither victor nor vanquished in the settlement of the Roman Question, 'but only absolute equality which led to the accord,' restoring the rightful situation to a situation which had become dangerous and irksome."

In the end came one of Mussolini's vague but ringing challenges, that as usual swept everything into the air which had been nicely settled on the ground.

"Italy is Fascism and Fascism is Italy!" he trumpeted to his public.

As a grand finale Italy's maturing sons and daughters told the Holy Father and the world that "Mussolini is always right" and that "One thing should be dear to thee above all: the life of the Duce." To these Italians Christ surely has a new earthly Vicar! Of course, Vatican diplomatists immediately decided that this Fascist salute of young Italy is a diplomatic frame-up staged by Mussolini or one of his lieutenants. Possibly the children were merely fanatical Moseses receiving this Decalogue from the divine hands of Italy's Dictator himself:

1. Know thou that the Fascist, and especially the militia member, should not believe in perpetual peace.
2. Days in prison are always merited.
3. One serves one's fatherland even by standing guard over a gasoline tank.
4. A companion must be a brother; first because he lives with thee, and second because he thinks like thee.
5. A musket, the ammunition belt, and so forth, are not intrusted to thee to be worn out at thine ease but to be preserved for time of war.
6. Never say, "The Government will pay so much!" because it is thou thyself who payest, and the Government is that which thou hast wished and for which thou hast donned the uniform.
7. Discipline is the sun of the armies; without it there are no soldiers but confusion and defeat.
8. Mussolini is always right.

9. The volunteer profits by no extenuating circumstances when he disobeys.

10. One thing should be dear to thee above all: the life of the Duce.

The Duce might not be this and might not be that, but he is almost always "good theater." It would not be educationally amiss for us to enter the pit of the past and taking front row seats watch a review of the prologue and three earlier acts of the present drama.

CHAPTER V

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVES

THE only official representative of the American Government at Rome in 1870 was D. M. Armstrong, United States Consul. Our legation to the Holy See had been closed and the last American Minister to the Court of the Pope, Mr. Rufus King, had been recalled several years before by President Johnson. Mr. King's summary withdrawal by Washington grew out of the issue of the right of American Protestants to hold public worship in the city of Rome. It was really President Johnson's and Secretary of State Seward's way of diplomatically rejecting the Papacy's attempt to ostracize such worship to a building beyond the city's walls.

United States Consul Armstrong alone was left to inform officially our Department of State of the siege of papal Rome and its subsequent fall before the arms of the King of Italy. His report to Mr. Hamilton Fish, then Secretary of State, evidences how unfaithful to the papal cause the Pope's Roman subjects proved to be. These apparently received the invaders with little show of sadness or tears, the majority accepting their new masters with wild outbursts of enthusiasm.

Consul Armstrong reveals the interesting fact that American residents in papal Rome had been forbidden to fly the American flag. However, the new government of the King annulled this prohibition of the Pope. Secretary of State Fish is told: "In all cases I have allowed American Citizens to put up the American flag, which hitherto has not been allowed in Rome, even at the Consulate. I am happy to say that it has been of great service, and has been universally respected." Consul Armstrong's report, which today is more historic than ever, is as follows:

"U. S. Consulate,
Rome, 23d September, 1870.

"To the Honorable Hamilton Fish,
"Secretary of State.

"Sir:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Despatch dated August 1st.

"On the 10th of September the Italian troops crossed the Roman frontier. I immediately left Como, where I was staying. The railway through the Roman territory had already ceased running regularly, but a military train took me within twenty-five miles of Rome. From thence a wagon brought me to the City, after many hours of dusty travel, through the now parched and deserted Campagna. We met no travelers; no one was at work in the fields, and we saw nothing of the Italian troops, until within about five

miles from Rome a small encampment was seen on a distant hill. A little further on, the railway bridge had been destroyed by the Romans. Near this we crossed the River Annio, by the Nomentana bridge, which was guarded by the first papal troops we had met.

"In a little while we entered Rome by the Porta Pia, where earth barricades had been erected and a deep trench dug outside the gate. The gate itself had been padded with sand bags, and other preparations made to receive the enemy. All the other gates were pretty much barricaded in much the same way. From this time until the attack began on the 20th, Rome was in a state of quiet expectancy, almost it seemed of apathy. The streets were comparatively deserted, most of the shops closed, all telegraphic communications cut off; from the 12th until the 23rd of September the mails were not received. On the walls were posted proclamations declaring the City in a state of siege; forbidding all people to enter or leave the City, or to assemble in any considerable numbers in the streets. Still they did assemble to some extent, and quietly talked over the situation.

"A careless observer, particularly one who read the Roman newspapers, all of which were under strict Government control, might have supposed the Papal Government to have been reasonably popular, and to have relied implicitly upon a faithful people. But although they have made violent exertions for some

time past, they have been able to induce only two hundred additional volunteers to enlist. With the exception of these, and the few Romans already in its service, not one of the people raised a hand for the defense of the Papacy. A body of men who are said to have been employed hitherto by the Government as spies were uniformed and constantly patrolled the streets. These were assisted by the Squadriglieri, about seven hundred in number, many of whom were refugee Italian banditti, pardoned by His Holiness on condition that they should serve in his ranks. To such defenders was the Pope reduced!

"It was known here that numerous propositions, looking towards a peaceful settlement of the question, were being made by the Italian Government. However, all propositions were rejected; the Pope was firm, cheerful and hopeful. In the meantime he held special services in St. Peter's and visited the Monasteries and Nunneries, telling the inmates that the Italians would never enter Rome. They might, he said, come to the gates, but there they would be stayed. Only once did I hear of his having given way; last Saturday during a service at Ara Coeli, he burst into tears and all present wept with him. On the evening of September 19th he visited the Porta San Giovanni and blessed the barricades and the banditti-soldiers defending them. On the fifteenth news was received of the fall of Civita Vecchia; on the 16th the Italian

troops began leisurely to assemble, and by the 18th they completely surrounded Rome.

"In the meantime such preparations as the Papal troops wished to make had been made, and they anxiously looked forward to an attack; in fact, they provoked it by firing on the Italian troops, who did not reply. The enemy were 60,000 strong, the Romans 13,000, with an immense extent of wall to defend. No one not Papalini supposed for a moment that it could be successfully defended, although the Army here seemed sanguine as to the result. On the 20th of September at 5 a.m. the attack began by a sharp fire of musketry and a heavy cannonading of about 40 shots to the minute, extending from near the Porta del Popolo to the Porta San Giovanni, along about one-third of the whole City wall. A slight attack was also kept up at the Porta S. Pancrazio, on the opposite side of the City. The most severe cannonading was at, and near, the Porta Pia and the Porta San Giovanni. At eight o'clock the firing was about twenty-five to the minute; it then slackened materially. The guns at the Porta Pia were soon after dismounted, and a little later the gate at San Giovanni was entirely gone, but guns were manned and discharged until the enemy were within a few feet of them.

"The old walls generally proved utterly useless against heavy artillery; in four or five hours they were in some places completely swept away. A clear

breach was made near the Porta Pia, fifty feet wide, and the Italian soldiers in overwhelming force flowed through it, and literally filled the City. Simultaneously the Porta San Giovanni was carried by assault; a white flag was then seen flying from the dome of St. Peter's, and the City was known to have surrendered. After the cannonading ceased, the Papal troops made but a feeble resistance. They who a moment before ruled Rome with a rod of iron were nearly all prisoners or had taken refuge in the Castel S. Angelo, or St. Peter's Square. Yesterday they were all sent away from Rome. As a general rule they were only too glad to submit quietly, except the 'Squadriglieri,' some of whom, dreading the gallows, made a desperate resistance.

"I believe that no private citizens made the least effort or demonstration in favor of the Papal Government. During the attack the streets were crowded with expectant, orderly people. The fire was directed entirely against the walls, no shot having been thrown intentionally into the City, although some buildings were injured and some non-combatants killed and wounded. A bullet passed through an upper window of this Consulate.

"After all, it was an easy victory for the Italians, and the loss in killed and wounded on both sides was not great. They were in overwhelming force with very heavy artillery, and they knew that the mass of Ro-

mans were their friends. The Zouaves, on the other hand, although they never could have imagined how much they were detested, must have at heart feared the people, and could not fight their best. They were a fine looking body of men, many of them, even the common soldiers, of superior education and refinement. Some of them, undoubtedly, served the Pope from religious feeling; many for the sake of the romance and adventure of the thing; very few for pay, as it was ridiculously small.

"The Italian troops in the service of the Pope were treated in the main with kindness, as soon as they had surrendered. But no one can imagine the storm of curses and abuse that were heaped upon the foreign mercenaries, particularly the Zouaves. I saw some of them, prisoners, brought from the Porta Pia through the dense mass of Italian soldiers, hot with victory; the soldiers struck them with their muskets, reviled and spit upon them in the most brutal way. With this exception the Italian troops have behaved admirably. Two hours later I saw many hundred Zouaves taken to their former headquarters in the Piazza Colonna. The rabble felt that their turn had now come, and if the Italian soldiers had not then prevented them, they would have been torn to pieces. Yesterday before the Papal soldiers were sent away, some of them gathered in the Square of St. Peter's

and the Pope blessed them from the balcony of the Church. Many wept.

"As soon as the white flag was seen on St. Peter's, I visited the different gates. The Porta Pia was in an horrible state; the barricades torn to pieces, the cannon broken and dismounted, the beautiful gate blackened and ruined, the fresco of the Virgin on its front defaced by many cannon shot, the heads and arms of the sculptured saints on either side wanting. The Lodge of the Villa adjoining, belonging to Cardinal Bonaparte, was burned, the Villa itself much injured, several Zouaves lying dead, where they had fallen, on the grounds. The Porta San Giovanni and the barricades which the Pope had blessed but the evening before were in much the some condition. There, however, the walls were banked by earth and no breach had been made; only the gateway was broken and through this narrow passage the assault was made.

"On the entry of the Italian soldiers the people met them with outstretched arms; with the wildest enthusiasm. As if by magic the whole City was literally covered with Italian flags, and busts and portraits of the King were seen everywhere. On this and the following evening the City was brilliantly illuminated, and the Corso and other streets filled with excited people, shouting for the King and Rome, the Capital of Italy. No very great violence was committed, although much was apprehended. The Papal arms were

almost all torn down and dragged through the streets. Certain palaces and monasteries were threatened and windows broken. Many persons were insulted in the streets, and some few were robbed.

"The quarters of the Gendarmes were sacked. Undoubtedly during the last few days anyone connected with the Roman Church or State was in serious danger of life and property. But in the main the cases of violence were exceptional and committed by the lowest rabble. In every case where guards were asked they were given by the General commanding, and now quiet seems to be almost completely established. The mass of the people though have been far too happy to indulge in anything but harmless manifestations of the most extravagant delight.

"A self-constituted Municipal Government was immediately formed. They were popularly supposed, and probably supposed themselves to be ruling Rome. But in fact for a day and a half before the Military Government was fully established, there was no real Government in the City. Yesterday, however, General Cadorna issued an order stating that Rome was under military rule and calling upon the Citizens to cease their manifestations, and resume their ordinary employments. He announced that order would be preserved, all property protected, and the former employees of the Government retained in their positions. This gave general satisfaction. Today it is known that

the General has selected eighteen persons, from among those suggested by the popular voice, to act as a provisional Government. These include princes and other leading men of Rome, who of course will act more or less under the General's direction.

"Yesterday a Republican meeting was held, but it was composed to a great extent of the rabble and exiles, who now swarm in Rome. This Republican movement is not by any means favored by the people at large. It is much discouraged by the best and most influential men of the Liberal Party. As far as I can learn from many inquiries and careful observations, the Romans are now the most loyal subjects that the King of Italy has. What they may become in the future no one can say; when the seeds of liberty sown in this virgin soil within the past few days shall have been carefully cultivated by the many Garibaldian exiles and other designing men, who have so long and anxiously looked forward to Rome as the Capital of a Republic.

"Of course there is a large party in favor of the old order of things; among these are the greater part of the nobles, and of course all the priests and their dependents, and a few others. Still many of the most wealthy and influential of the nobles are liberals, such as the Princes Doria and Piombino. But the middle and lower classes who are not in the Church, or not dependent on it for their livelihood are, I believe,

almost without exception in favor of the new order of things. Those who say to the contrary—and there are some who do—seem to me to be either wilfully blind, or they intentionally misrepresent the facts that they cannot help but see. The Carnival has of late years been supported by the rabble and strangers; even at that time of rejoicing Rome was a dead City.

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"During the late demonstrations the Corso has been filled with well-dressed, happy people, with a new light on their faces such as has not been seen in Rome for years. Certainly, for the present, this is a popular movement. Many of those who hitherto had opposed it had been taught by the priests to look upon the coming Italians as Vandals. However, finding in these Italians a well-disciplined and orderly soldiery, superior in every way to their former defenders, they have changed their minds somewhat and are more hopeful of the future. No Italian seems to doubt but that Rome was to be the Capital of Italy.

"The general feeling now appears to be, even among the Pope's friends, that he made one of the greatest mistakes that man ever made, in not submitting to the inevitable and listening to the King of Italy. It would seem to have been a sufficient protest against violence if he had simply closed the gates and not allowed blood to be shed in vain. By resisting, as he did, he lost all; his prestige for the present is entirely gone, he is now little more than any bishop

in his diocese. In fact, he is less, for now he could hardly go through the streets without insult, perhaps, not without personal danger. No one could imagine a greater fall than his, no greater contrast between the arrogant infallible Pope of yesterday, and the weak, deserted, old man of today. He is still at the Vatican, and there is very prospect, I hear, of his remaining there.

"In all cases I have allowed American Citizens to put up the American flag, which hitherto has not been allowed in Rome, even at the Consulate. I am happy to say that it has been of great service, and has been universally respected.

"I have been at my post during the whole affair, and have made every effort to obtain reliable information from all sources. I feel that I have had great responsibilities and some difficulties to contend with, as I have been almost alone. There was not one of my countrymen, in whose judgment I had confidence, to consult with. But fortunately, thus far, everything has gone well with this Consulate, and with every American, and all American property (which was considerable) in Rome.

"I have mentioned in my dispatch some things which under ordinary circumstances would not have been worth mentioning. However, as Rome at this unpleasant season is deserted by all who can get away —I know of no correspondent of an American news-

paper having been here during the siege—I have thought that an account even of some seemingly trifling things might be of value.

"I enclose a map of the City. I also send some newspapers published both before and after the surrender, which I thought might be of some interest. I would call attention to the two articles marked with a cross.

"I am Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) D. M. ARMSTRONG,

"*U. S. Consul, Rome.*

"*September 24th.*

"The City is now quiet and order seems to be completely restored.

"Photographs of the Porta Pia enclosed."

CHAPTER VI

THE WAR OF THE SHIRTS

A GAP of a half century separated the opening act of the drama from the prologue. It was not until 1921 that Pius XI and the Duce made their entrances as leading protagonists in the first act. Pius IX and King Victor Emmanuel I, had long since gone the theatrical way of all flesh. Their successors, however, trod the boards with no less histrionic abandon.

The first act's dialogue was sometimes confused and the plot often impeded rather than advanced by the action. One minute the puzzled spectator asked himself whether the play had a hero; and the next, whether the play had a villain.

But from the tangle of the story one slowly unwound the thread of comprehension. If the Italian Red Shirts took Rome from the Papacy in 1870, Mussolini's Black Shirts in 1922 started to restore it. If Italy's first revolutionary army of the Risorgimento religiously imprisoned the Pope in the Vatican, her second revolutionary army of Fascism would religiously release him. For the Black Shirt was being substituted for the Red Shirt and above the Fascist symbol on the Capitol was placed the Cross.

Never before in the history of modern Italy did the chair of Peter rest upon so firm a foundation as even the early Fascist Government. When General Cadorna's army approached the Holy City, Pius IX betook himself to the fortresslike church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli and wept over the impending fate of Rome. Pius XI showed no such humid emotion in 1922, as the Black Shirts poured between Rome's Porta del Popolo and through Mussolini extended one hand to Pontiff and the other hand to King.

"The excellent relations between the Vatican and the Italian Government," the *Paris Herald* was presently noting, "were reflected last week in the Catholic press." The *Corriere d'Italia*, which is the Vatican's semi-official organ, praises Mussolini for forbidding dancing, stage performances, tea concerts and cinema showings during Holy Week thus "making Rome a Catholic City."

The same Catholic newspaper read an interesting significance in Mussolini's pre-Concordat benefactions toward the Church. "From the laws of public safety," comments the *Corriere*, "to the maternity and infancy protection regulations, from the reëstablishment of Catholic schooling to the introduction of religious support in all the creations and organizations of the régime, a consistent plan is being carried out and developed according to a central idea easily recognizable in the speeches and actions of the states-

man, who is guiding the destinies of Italy—to give back to Italy her position of prestige in universal civilization, beginning with the reconstruction of the bedrock of her power in the world, the Catholic Church."

Nevertheless, Mussolini unlike Cæsar's wife was not entirely above initial suspicion in such an inner council of Curia as the papal Secretariate of State. This earlier double-mindedness about the Duce, evidenced in two pointed allocutions of the Pope, had also become a subject of discussion in hierarchical America. Pontifical and curial authority had no wish to purchase mussolinianization over the bargain counter of Church-and-State diplomacy.

An Italian nun, included with the writer in an America-bound ship's company, hailed the Italian Prime Minister as "a man of God." She was en route to New York for the purpose of making a countrywide study of the parochial school system with the view of standardizing Catholic elementary education in Italy. To the writer's questioning about Mussolini's attitude toward the Church and things Catholic, she replied:

"Oh, he has done so much for the Catholics! Never has the Church in Italy been as well off as it is now. And there were dark days right after the war. But 'a man of God' was raised up to brighten them. Yes, even the Holy Father has characterized Mussolini as 'a man of God!' " To the airy ejaculation, "politics

make strange bed-fellows!" the black-robed Sister vouchsafed no reply. Plainly angered, she resumed the telling of her beads and her promenade. The offending passenger was snubbed for the rest of the voyage.

The Duce's political propaganda has been influenced, undoubtedly, by the religious propaganda of the Papacy. Stealing spirit as well as letter from the pontifical thunder, he turned Fascism into a dogma. Until his coming the Church rather than the State had carried on the tradition of the Roman Empire, but today Italy is no mere member of the society of nations but "the imperial mother of nations." At Rome the writer was informed by a Mussolinian propagandist that "Wilsonian democracy" had almost opened the gates of Italy to Lenin and Trotsky and destroyed the country.

In fact, "Fascism militant and universal" rolls off the tongue of Mussolini's régime quite as smoothly as the Church's "militant and universal" rolls off the reactionary Curia's. In an inaugural address, opening the Roman branch of the Inter-University Courses for Foreigners, Signor Pietro Fedele, the Minister of Public Instruction, chose for his theme: "Rome as a source of inspiration and universality." Even American newspapermen, reporting from Rome, were not immune to the germs of imperialism, sown so thickly in the Italian air. The correspondent of the *Chicago*

Tribune wrote this about the national celebration of the 2,680th birthday of Rome:

"Thrice capital, Rome of the Kingdom of Italy, of the Catholic Church and thirdly of Eternal Beauty, the City has her ambassadors from all the world at the Quirinal, her world ambassadors at the Vatican and her hundred thousand tourists, world admirers since three millenniums. Spring and Easter increases the number of her subjects in an extraordinary way, for all European travelers make their annual pilgrimage here. The Tiber flows a brazen flood, silvered at the piers, the snow-white maple trees and garden of the Pincian gardens are gay with Spring, and the Via Margutta, the street of the artists, abloom with purple wistaria as in the days of the hanging gardens of Lucullus. The nightingales of the Villa Medici are singing of the mystic secrets of the mighty city and her thousand fountains flow eternally as the life blood of the mother of nations."

During his first 1927 speech at the Camera, in early Spring, Mussolini with unhypocritical candor again assailed modern democracy. He viewed present-day parliamentarianism—Washington's brand of the minority-majority principle of government—as a tried and proven failure. "I am convinced," asserted Il Duce, "that although there is a ruling class in course of formation, although there is an even more conscious discipline, I must myself carry out the task

of governing. The Italian nation is not yet born. (Loud cheering.") So Mussolini by self-appointment became not only Italy's Prime Minister but also her Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War, Minister of Marine, Minister of Aeronautics and Minister of Corporation. He far out McAdooed the war-time McAdoo.

Ridiculing universal suffrage in the same address, he declared that "the opposition" in Italy was long since "finished" and that no Opposition Party was needed. A Chamber of Deputies could be elected by "organizations of the State" rather than by universal suffrage. There was nothing Delphic in the blunt speech; like all Mussolini's utterances it burned with the blazing candor of opportunistic conviction, and admitted of a single interpretation.

In the beginning, many of the Pope's religious enemies were Mussolini's political foes. Italian Masonry, known as the Grand Orient and long a thorn in the side of the Papacy, was plucked out by Il Duce. He regarded its Republican tendency as a conspiracy both against his Government and his person. In the end he ceased trifling with the smaller Masonic fry and exiled the Italian head of the Latin Rite to a lonely island in the Mediterranean. Latin Masonry with its French heritage of revolutionary republicanism and its emphasis on atheism had done its bit toward making the divided Italy a nation. Foreign

Protestantism helped morally and materially to wrest Rome from the Pope and establish it as the capital of United Italy.

Once established at Rome, Mussolini joined royalist white with neutral gray and papal black and installed a self-laudatory altar in the Coliseum. The inscribed tablet attested the good dispositions and the protective attitude of the Duce toward this half-ruined slaughter house of the early Christians. The Pope of the Garibaldian period hurled the Jovian thunderbolt of excommunication at the old leadership, and its camp followers.

It was in May, 1927, that the Fascist erection of the Cross in the Coliseum officially signed and sealed the Duce's Rome as the Holy City. With elaborate ceremony this Catholic memorial was again planted in the historic soil, this time in the august presence of the Queen of Italy, the once Orthodox Montenegrin Helena. The *amende honorable* had been made.

Mussolini did not attend the ceremony in person. He was represented by his Minister of Public Affairs. This was the wooden cross which 56 years before had been uprooted by the violent hands of Garibaldian revolutionists. Now, the Garibaldi was dead and the descendants of the red-shirted liberator scattered abroad. More than one foreign spectator wondered bewilderedly whether history was being made or unmade, as the tall stark cross was slowly lifted on

high. During the spectacular reërection one hundred picked choristers sang appropriate hymns and five hundred frightened doves whitened the sun-baked air. These winged harbingers of Church-and-State peace were released from the Coliseum's dungeon cells. Cells from which early Christian martyrs once fared forth to the lions and blood-stained death in the arena.

CHAPTER VII

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

The second act was something like a dramatic stalemate. When the Duce was not engaged in mending his political fences, he was trying to strengthen Fascism's prestige at home and abroad. Such ambitions as Italy's agricultural prosperity and necessary colonial expansion provoked his activity or his intrigue. We find him inveighing also against pacifism and striving to incline Italy's public opinion toward the inevitability of war.

"Theoretically, the first Fascist was in a sense an American. Not an Italian at all. James Russell Lowell forecasted Fascism."

This is a sample of the thousand and one startling but subtle statements that the writer heard in present-day Italy. He had returned there after an absence of seven years and had found not the old and sometimes indolent Italy but a new and feverish one.

"Look up Lowell's Fireside Travels, and you will discover it for yourself," said the argumentative Italian professor. The suggestion of the Mussolinian propagandist was followed and lo! James Russell Lowell stood revealed as a minor prophet of Fascism.

"There is something more than mere earth in a spot where great deeds have been done," wrote the New England author. "The surveyor cannot give the true dimensions of Marathon or Lexington, for they were not reducible to square acres. Dead glory and greatness leave ghosts behind them, and a departed empire has a metempsychosis if nothing else has. Its spirit haunts the grave, and waits and waits, till at last it finds a body to its mind, slips into it and historians moralize on the fluctuations of human affairs. By and by, perhaps, enough observations will have been recorded to assure us that these recurrences are firmamental, and historionomers will have measured accurately the sideral years of races. When that is once done, events will move with the quiet of an orrery, and nations will consent to their peridynamis and apodynamis with planetary composure.

"Be that as it may; you become gradually aware of the presence of this imperial ghost among the Roman ruins. You receive hints and startles of it through the senses first, as the horse always shies at the apparition before the rider sees it. Then, little by little, you become assured of it, and seem to hear the brush of its mantle through some hall of Caracalla's baths or one of those solitudes of Rome. And these solitudes are without a parallel, for it is not the mere absence of man, but the sense of his departure, that makes a profound loneliness. Musing upon them, you

cannot but feel the shadow of that disembodied empire, and, remembering how the foundations of the Capital were laid, where a head was turned up, you are impelled to prophesy that the Idea of Rome will incarnate itself again, as soon as an Italian brain is found large enough to hold it, and to give unity to those discordant members."

Lowell wrote these prophetic, picturesque thoughts some sixty years ago. The Italian professor is convinced that Benito Mussolini fits their fading pattern. Many another Italian shares this conviction, including the Duce himself. When Mussolini's speech does not proclaim it, his deed does.

Ecclesiastical elements close to the Papacy, as early as 1925, observed the Mussolinian incarnation of "the Idea of Rome," and within limits commented favorably upon it.

Mussolini's "consistent plan" of Government revolves about a "central idea," enthusiastically averred the Vatican's semi-official organ, the *Corriere d'Italia.* That "central idea" is to "give back to Italy her position of prestige in universal civilization, beginning with the bedrock of her power in the world, the Catholic Church." There might be more ways of solving the perennial Roman Question than one. Could the Lowellesque brain "large enough" to "give unity to discordant members" be strikingly, thrillingly at work?

Americans, who went to Tivoli on April the twenty-first, 1927, expecting to see the lovely Villa d'Este, a national monument, were disappointed. The Villa's great outer door was barred, and an unbribable Fascist custodian announced:

"The Villa is closed. It is the birthday of Rome and a national holiday."

What had once been a purely local demonstration had become, under Fascism, a compulsory nation-wide fête. Imagine the babel of the bitter spirit-tongues of the once proud and ancient Tivolians! Tivoli had been one of Imperial Rome's most implacable enemies. So resentful of this persistent hostility were the arrogant Romans that her citizens were disfranchised *in perpetuum*, when the city was at last conquered and made a part of the Roman Empire. This tradition did not prevent the present-day Tivolians from parading the medieval streets and eating holiday ices in the open-air cafés on the day that Rome was 2,680 years old.

The Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune* described the preparations made by Fascism over all Italy to signalize Rome's hoary anniversary. Around the shrine of the day's historic significance were hung, willy or nilly, many modern votive offerings. Mussolini among other things proclaimed it Labor Day and made it a national holiday for the workers. Labor's demonstration shrewdly became a connecting

chapter in the thick story book of the historical celebration. Only a little while before the Duce had promulgated his extraordinary chart for Italian capital and labor. The crux of the program, stripped of its platitudes, is the absolute subjection of Italian capital and labor to the Fascist Government. In a national emergency its sincere and unhampered execution would bring about either dictatorial state syndicalism or state socialism or state capitalism, depending upon the Mussolinian will and the social and economic factors of the situation.

In addition to Labor, the Fascists found special cause for rejoicing in Rome's birthday, because the event marked the fifth year-stone of their epoch-making march on Rome.

"Tomorrow, Thursday," read the *Paris Tribune* despatch, "is the Birthday of the Eternal City, born 753 B.C. with the strength of a lion, with a wolf for a wet-nurse. And all over Italy tomorrow will be celebrations of the Fascists, which will reach the climax at Rome, with manifestations and parades of over 380,000 men, all of whom have undergone military training, who although they are not regular troops are considered a reserve. A grand parade will take place and the Janiculum hill will be illuminated; sky rockets will soar in honor of the National Day of the great and ancient city. Since the word of the March to Rome with the cry 'A Roma'—the twenty-

first of April has been set aside by the Fascist government as a legal holiday to take the place of the First of May, which was the Bolshevik celebration."

On the feast day itself the lion and the lamb laid down together at Santa Maria in Ara Coeli. Fixed side by side to the façade of the storied Roman church were the coat of arms of St. Francis of Assisi and the Fascist bundle of axes. Surmounting the two were the Latin words, "Pax et Bonum"—"Peace and Good Will." The whole design, which would have screwed such early Italian revolutionists as Mazzini and Garibaldi to the murdering point, was studded with varicolored electric lights. To the right of the church, along the steps leading to the Capitol, stood the bronze of the pitiable Rienzi, the ill-starred Republican tribune. In near-by cages were the traditional wolf, commemorating the nurse of Romulus and Remus, and two moth-eaten eagles, before whose Roman prototypes the whole world trembled.

Mussolini is a super-psychologist. The leaders of the 1850 and 1870 Risorgimento seized upon the general interests of Italy's Medieval States for advancing the cause of Italian Unity. This was the colorless fabric of their appeal to Italy's masses. Unlike Mussolini, they ignored the psychological attraction of Ancient Rome as a magnet of nationalistic propaganda. There was little fuel in their message to keep the fire of popular imagination blazing. As a result

the national spirit was proving to be a thing of sluggish growth, and the citizen of the Medieval Republic of Florence was still calling himself a Florentine rather than an Italian. Nor was this attitude a special case; the Neapolitan, the Perugian, the Assisian were all voicing similar unnationalistic traditions. Indeed, until Mussolini appeared as Italy's Dictator, Milan—not Rome—was commonly called "the moral and financial capital of Italy."

These were the reasons why the Duce attached the standard of Imperial Rome to the masthead of Fascism. Would it not be easier to reform the old Roman Empire than to make a new Italian nation! Italians might be Florentines, Neapolitans, Perugians, Assisians and what not, but were they not all the descendants of the ancient Romans? There was drama in Mussolini's policy; sentimentality in his philosophy; something colorfully spiritual and superficially gripping in his psychology. A single one of these things would be enough to move the average Italian, a simple and elemental person. Small wonder that a veritable army of Italians fell in line behind the clever Pied Piper, who played all these tunes.

The Duce did not rely upon speech and demonstration alone to Romanize the Italians. With nice calculation he endeavored to make the artistic and architectural glory that was Ancient and Medieval Rome thrillingly visible to their eyes. Some histo-

rians maintain Nero burned Rome in order that he might build a new city, more elaborately proportioned and more gorgeous than the old. Mussolini would make a bonfire of the people's ignorant and slothful disinterest and reconstruct an old-new Rome on the embers. A sermon in stone might win, where mere words failed. Italians must be alive to their heritage. They should be persuaded, yes—even compelled to take inspiration, strength and daring from it. Only out of such a womb would be born the Roman triumvirate of popular self-respect, imperial pride and aggressive action. The *dolce far niente* spirit, which had long paralyzed the maturing limbs of Italian national life, had to go.

In Rome itself governmental plans for beautifying the approach of St. Peter's are already on paper. The world's loveliest temple now stems from the squalid Borgo quarter like a water-lily, whose root is deep in the mud-bed of a murky pond. The Forum of Augustus is being uncovered and rebuilt and the theater of Marcellus scraped clean of its age-old filth. The work of completing the excavation of Trajan's Forum has been inaugurated. For modern Rome the world's largest sky-scraping building and a 20-mile subway are projected.

The ashes of Vesuvius, the dust of centuries and the litter of later-day structures, now hiding Herculaneum, are undergoing gradual removal. Not so far

distant is the day when the naked bones of that dead city will be exposed like Pompeii both to student and tourist. At Naples a recently opened litoranean road, for which the whole nation was taxed, winds dazzlingly around the cobalt bay. In other parts of southern Italy rare and half-ruined specimens of Gothic architecture have been brought or are being brought back to their original medieval beauty.

One of the Duce's most romantic promises, fast nearing fulfillment, is the raising of Caligula's golden galleys from the depths of Lake Nemi in the Roman Campagna. This is a task whose projected accomplishment staggered all but the engineering imagination. The enterprise is attended by tremendous technical difficulties, inasmuch as the lake must be drained before actual recovery can be attempted. "The investigating committee," says the *Tribune* of Florence, "has decided that if the lake is drained to a level of twenty-two meters, both the boats will appear sufficiently to be raised. The waters will be poured into the near-by lake of Albano and from there carried off to the sea through the existing emissary." Five times as large as Nemi, Lake Albano could easily accommodate the former's overflow. Later, should the natural sources be insufficient to fill Nemi within a reasonable time, the same Albano can be used to replenish Nemi's fallen waters.

When found, the galleys will be conveyed to the

bank of the lake, restored and enclosed in a museum, erected on the spot. "Before the contents of the new museum," comments the *Tribune*, "even the famous ship of Gokstad, preserved at Oslo and dating back to the ninth century, will lose a part of its interest and importance. What indeed could compare with the galleys of Caligula built two thousand years ago?"

Suetonius bequeathed to posterity a graphic picture of these galleys. They were floating palaces rather than ships. Cedar wood was used in their construction. They boasted of "jeweled prows, resplendent sails, purple pavillions set with ivory, gold and precious marbles, porticos and gardens with trees laden with fruits." On them the crazy emperor idled away his days and nights, making love to the moon. In his insanity he cried "because it would not descend as far as his arms."

In the third edition of the "History of Rome" of Hector Pais, Mussolini finds historical justification for his own "Roman complex." The volume is not long off the Italian press. As Giuseppe Piazza, one Fascist reviewer, puts it: "The main idea which sustains the entire work of Pais is that the history of the Italian people begins with Rome, and that during the civilizing process of the Roman peninsula the genesis of the national unity of Italy was completed; furthermore, that the feeling of this unity, though dormant and threatened with death for long centuries,

was never entirely extinguished, either in the strong recollection of ancient greatness or in the operation of immortal Roman institutions."

Hitherto, few except German scholars had dug scientifically through the many and varied historical strata, under which Ancient Rome lay buried. The most representative of these is Mommsen. He contends that Italy's history starts with Odoacer, Theodoric or Album—in fine, with the invasion and fusion of the Germanic tribe. The thesis of Pais that Italian history "begins and is cast in Rome" and that "nothing of the medieval and modern history of Italy can be understood, unless the starting point of our work is the civilization and national unification as achieved by Rome" is a radical departure from the long and generally accepted German point of view.

Mommsen holds that "the priesthood and the magistracy, the religious power and the civil power were from the beginning two distinct elements of which the one did not infringe on the attributes of the other." On the contrary, Pais claims that "the government was theocratic from the beginning, and all civil legislation (victuals, etc.) was under the direction of the priests." The latter shows that "*only through successful struggles could the civil power gradually centralize and distinguish itself from the theocratic régime.*" There are those who believe that the story of the Papacy and the story of Mussolini's present—

and future—policy toward it are summed up in this last quotation.

Fascist intellectuals saw many a road sign for the Duce's governmental course in this old Roman map, charted by Pais. To echo once more the Mussolinian reviewer, Piazza, the reader in this new volume will catch glimpses of Augustus Cæsar, observing "how Cæsar absorbs in himself all power—the popular, including that of the tribunes—how he reflects and objectifies all the governmental functions, gives them their right proportions, and exercises them in accordance with that well-balanced and tempering Latin ideal of liberty, with discipline based on the stability of the political power, and on the strength of the institutions: *a state of society in which the individual and the collectivity can exist together without the individual doing violence to the collectivity or the collection, always sovereign,* suppressing the individual. This is the last truth taught us by the history of Rome, *a truth more real today than ever.*"

With one mental hand the Dictator conjured up the glamorous panorama of the past, and with the other projected Italy's mind into the future. "Italy is not yet a nation!" he thundered in Parliament. Three great tasks must be accomplished—the perfecting of the armed forces of the State, the economic and financial battle, and Constitutional reform." He declared that the future of Italy lay largely in Young Italy, the

black-shirted boys and girls, who are seen everywhere, marching with military quick-step to Fascist gymnasium or lecture hall or patriotic rally. This is the psychological stuff of which the children's crusade of the Middle Ages was made.

Old Rome was an agricultural and maritime power, not an industrial nation. The New Italy would be the same. With her lack of raw materials the latter could never hope to be a dominant or dominating industrial power. Moreover, Italian talents take other directions. Mussolini is opposed particularly to industrialization around Rome. "The maximum of births and the minimum of deaths," he has repeatedly indicated as an Italian ideal. The banishment of industrial towns is regarded as a means to this end. "The only industries for me are those of the land and the sea."

His back-to-the-farm campaign sprang from the report of a special commission for rural investigation. The commission was headed by Signor Giurati, the Minister of Public Works. The commissioners found that there was enough unreclaimed land in Italy to take care—if properly developed—of the surplus population for a generation at least. As in early Roman days, such sections of Italy as the Roman Campagna, Sardinia and Sicily are to be transformed into vast granaries for the feeding and nourishment of a new self-supporting empire. In the interval, wheat economy and scientific cultivation will

be practiced at home, and the brown bread of war time eaten by the people. Simultaneously, wheat importations from the United States and elsewhere will be held at the lowest possible figures.

The recent establishment of a superior school of malariology at Rome is a significant phase of Mussolini's far-reaching agricultural policy. A considerable portion of the Italian countryside, especially the barren stretches near the sea, is a prey to malaria. This is due largely to its swampy and marshy condition. This great territory must be drained and opened to the farmer and his plow. As a matter of fact, some of it under Mussolini has already been engineered into healthy, fruitful use. The unique malariological institute at Rome is designed to become the center of studies for the control and prevention of malaria. There is nothing fatalistic in the Duce's genius; seeing a traditional Italian ill like "Roman fever" he tries to cure it.

In his report to the Government, Giurati pointed out that since 1921 more than a million sons have been lost to Italy through emigration. This number and more, it is claimed, could have been accommodated by the development of thousands of acres of "untouched Italian fields, especially in the south." Stirred by the commission's findings, Mussolini expressed himself in this emphatic manner:

"We must make Italy a rural country if it requires billions of lire and half a century."

Afterward, he made the typical Mussolinian gesture by listing his own little wheat farm in the Government's national prize competition. He made the entry as a private citizen in that quiet but potentially noisy way of his. The action was duly chronicled by the Italian press and the natural popular applause followed. The Duce sets the good example! In the course of time a posed photograph of Mussolini standing most un-Ruthlike among his own fields crept into the pictorial section of the Sunday supplement in America.

The *Paris Herald* correspondent at Rome noted, with apparently unconscious cynicism, an imperialistic military motif behind the Duce's ruralization scheme. "Mussolini has two principal objects in fostering a ruralization program," runs one of his news item: "first, to avoid overcrowding in cities, thus producing not only uncomfortable living conditions but vice in the various forms, which always accompany too compact populations; secondly, a rural movement to make Italy self-supporting. He knows that if Italy one day has to go out and seek territorial expansion, and if her territorial expansion should involve her in war, she must be able to feed her own population without the necessity of importing foodstuffs, or else the war is lost before it is begun."

Another war! Mussolini, having founded his diplomacy on the principles of that "black prince" known as Macchiavelli, makes no effort to deny the official Jugo-slav, Belgian and French opinion that the factory of Fascism is manufacturing a future European war.

In the early part of 1927 the Italian statesman visited Tripoli with all the pomp and panoply of a triumphant Cæsar. He made the journey on an Italian warship and a squadron of Italy's fighting fleet acted as his escort. The visit to Africa's Mediterranean shore served to focus the attention of the world and the imagination of the Italian people on the colonial projects of Fascism. Among the journalistic efforts, called forth by the event, was Nicola Pascazio's "The Necessity of Expansion in the Mediterranean," published in the *Revista d'Italia e d'America.* Pascazio told the little known history of Italy's pre-Fascist colonization and presaged the future Fascist program. He manifested the Italian Government's dissatisfaction with the distribution of the colonial fruits at the Versailles peace table. In the conflict of diplomacies both France and England have long regarded Italy as a poor relation among the family of nations. These two countries came in for censorious treatment in the *Revista's* article. The following are the more striking and significant excerpts:

"On the 15th of February a pattern Fair was inau-

gurated at Tripoli. For the last two months nothing else has been spoken of in the African colony. This event is one that lends itself to many divers comments. One thing is certain; the feverish rhythm imposed on the Nation by Mussolini has had its repercussion in the colonies. The whole initiative is animated with a remarkable fervor of life and enterprise. The 'great box of sand' of scandalous memory has been slowly transformed by the work of Volpi and De Bono into an immense dockyard of creative energy. The most important of our Colonies does us honor and represents a vital block in the Italian colonial system, in spite of the deficiency of resources, the difficulties to be overcome and the millions to be spent.

"And there is great need of the 'Faith that moves mountains and fecundates the earth'—as the Prime Minister exclaimed during his memorable journey—to day by day break down the thick set of obstacles. Our experiment in government and colonial life—may the French Deputy, Archinbaud, who does not believe us to be capable colonists, give himself peace—has been victoriously carried out in Lybia by transforming the Tripolitan sands into fruitful green lands; by the creation of railroads and roads for carriages and caravans; by systematizing the ports; by the great increase in the inter-African trade and of that

between Africa and the Mediterranean coast of Europe."

Tripolitania in 1924 imported some 17 millions of barley from Cyrenaica; more than 28 millions of wheat flour; 3 millions of arachid; 5 millions of tobacco; over 6 millions of oats; 8 millions of wheat; more than 4½ millions of tea; more than 1½ millions of coffee and about 1½ million horses and mules. In the same year the exports amounted to more than 27 millions. Other statistics are reported to show a steady raise in Tripolitania's exportations and a gradual fall in her importations. At least, 200 kilometers of railway are in actual operation besides 1700 kilometers of roads. Blankets, carpets, woolen goods, cotton, handkerchiefs, coral, paper, glass and wood are sent into the Soudan by caravan. "*Evidently this is not the supreme aim but it is a good starting point for actualizing vast plans.*"

Pascazio likewise introduced the inevitable parallel between the old Rome and the new Italy. "The Romans employed two centuries in order to subjugate Lybia; we are there from 1911, but really conscious of our task only from 1922, that is from the march on Rome.

"There is therefore every reason for building the most ardent hopes. . . .

"These sober elements of history should not make us lose sight of the higher and more complex point

of view—the Italian colonial policy, that is forcing itself to give the maximum value to Tripolitania, Cyrenaica in the basin of the Mediterranean, Eritrea in the Red Sea, Somalia and the Sultanates of the Indian Ocean.

"Our necessities become every day more urgent.

"The 'demographic right,' that Geneva has not recognized yet for us, but which European writers have already signalled awaits its solution in fact.

"Italy is at this moment constrained within her limits.

"She is thirsting for earth and sun.

"Not a diseased and megalomaniac thirst for conquest of territories and an Eldorado out of all measure.

"She does not long for colonial empires governed by and of use to other powers."

The disproportion between the British colonial empire, the French and "ours" is impossible for the reincarnated Rome of Mussolini. "Modestly, Italy begs for colonies either near or far in order to employ her excessive population so as to get from the land what the land of the peninsula denies them. Although prosperous, although exceedingly fertile, still our four colonies can not be sufficient for the actual superb Italian economic efficiency. There is a stupefying disproportion between the English colonial empire, the French and ours. The original sin goes back

to Versailles. We ought to have been able to correct this disadvantageous disproportion and we did not do it. The others instead profited by the new division to assign to themselves grand and magnificent colonies, brandishing at their pleasure, some the fourteen points, others the principles of '89, others again the necessity of worldwide policy."

So Mussolini's ruralization scheme for Italy is only a temporary expedient for a present and local situation. Pascazio like all Fascist authorities believes that the moment will come when the matured Fascist nation will have to find deeper and stronger life-giving lungs than the handful of colonial possessions of today. This was Old Rome's alibi for her attempted conquest of the world. Having studied the colonial and military side of Fascist policy, Senator Borah did not hesitate to denounce it, publicly, as breeding future war.

"Colonial expansion," continues Pascazio, "is the hinge of the foreign policy of Mussolini. Italy can not live forever without great colonies. . . .

"Nearly all the great wars had for *leit motiv* the conquest of a colonial empire. The competition for the possession of raw material and for the monopoly of the riches and most costly products open and close with one name—colony.

"When one lingers over the formation of the colonial empires of the Great Powers, when one examines

the pages of the first division of Africa, not only does one feel the passion of a student arise but one is taken with an invincible fascination. It is the history of the doings of the human race, the passage slow or quick from one to another grade of civilization which opens before you as a multi-colored unexpected panorama.

"We believe that colonial expansion, colonial study and passion for the colonies should be judged as 'categorically imperative' by the ardent feverish Italy of Mussolini, by this Italy whose mind is projected into the far off tomorrow and whose soul aspires to the highest ideals."

This "demographic right" of Italy, so current nowadays in Italian political discussion, is a loose, undefined phrase. As Pascazio admits, the League of Nations has "not recognized" it "yet." French editorial writers, who pretend to reflect Geneva views, declare that the League must necessarily deny any such "special privilege" to Italy. The "demographic right" in its literal acceptance, they claim, would authorize Mussolini to fix today the Fascist axes, wherever the old Roman eagle perched. That old bird chirped in almost every European country except Ireland.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DUCE VISIONS A POPE-SOVEREIGN

In the third act events sweep to a climax and the audience with Mussolini visions a new Papal State and a Pope-Sovereign. The freedom-sounding voices which once keened, "The Pope-King is dead!" have long been stilled. The Duce has cleared his throat and is preparing to lead an official Fascist chorus in "Viva il Papa-Re!"

Rome has been vindicated. "Ruins" do count and the city of the Cæsars is no "stucco town." Whistler's words come back to discredit him and the artist is left an artist, "only that and nothing more." J. M. Whistler realizing a dream of a lifetime once visited the Eternal City. He had planned on a protracted stay. However, neither the city nor its life appealed to him. Disappointed he quit Rome, complaining:

"Ruins don't count. This is only a stucco town. I am going."

In other words, the Roman Question, created by the Vatican in 1871 and kept alive through all the intervening years, was on the road to practical settlement. The nature of the case could not be changed either by the length of the road or its roughness.

Preceding Governments generally ignored the question or merely regarded it as an occasional invitation for a dearly beloved polemic in the public press. But through the smoke of journalistic controversy and the editorial fog of pontifico-Fascist diplomania, the Duce's dictatorship of Fascism signalled the approaching recognition of temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty in the person of the Pope.

The arresting announcement of this new Italian politico-ecclesiastical opera was first made in official or semi-official papal and Fascist organs. It was Fascist representatives who dangled the bait before the pontifical "fisher of men" and invited his luck in the political pond. In mid-October of 1928 the *Corriere della Sera* printed a contradictory editorial leader, which claimed that the Holy Father could comfortably move and have his being in the alleged strait-jacket of the Italian Government's Law of Guarantees. The article maintained that everything necessary for the Pope was contained in the letter and spirit of this law. Nevertheless, the suggestion was made that the "strait-jacket" might be loosened a little without any danger to Italy, and a small slice of territory restored to the Papacy.

Senator Giovanni Gentili, former public instruction minister in the Fascist Cabinet and friend of the Pope and the Duce alike, was the author of the editorial. This internationally famous educator has long been

using his undoubted genius to Catholicize philosophy. He wrote the principles upon which Italy's present educational institution is based. Incidentally Mussolini himself, especially during 1926, brought the whole school system into closer relationship with the Church than even Gentili contemplated.

Writing in the Duce's own journalistic organ, *Popolo d'Italia,* Arnaldo Mussolini, brother of the dictator and his constant mouthpiece, continued Gentili's argument. Taking exception to one phase of it, Arnaldo declared unequivocally that the Italian Law of Guarantees was not sufficient for the Pope's independence. This Mussolinian trumpet heralded that something more was necessary. That "something more" could only be the recognition of temporal power and the restoration of limited or extensive papal territory. In fact, before the polemic subsided one Fascist newspaper in press-censored Italy visualized not a mystical but a very real and substantial bark of Peter, sailing the seven seas with a triple-crowned passenger.

The *Corriere della Sera* and the *Popolo d'Italia* having had their inning gave place to the editorial batsman of the Vatican's *Osservatore Romano.* Acknowledgment that the problem was a national and not an international one was duly given. Then, a new State no matter how small was demanded as an item of settlement.

In the end, an official Fascist *Foglio d'Ordini* halted

the ten-day Roman holiday of pro and con discussion and struck at the "temporal ambitions" of the Vatican. Yet even this fact could be digested readily enough should a grain of diplomatic salt accompany it.

There was evidently nourishment for pontifical hope and food for world thought in the unrestrained freedom of debate temporarily permitted by the press-feeding and press-bullying Mussolini.

The Duce's statement in the *Foglio d'Ordini*, viewed in the large, was the usual Foreign Office gesture, designed to take the question out of the sphere of journalistic debate and throw it back into the ungodlike lap of diplomaniacal treatment. In this connection, one should remember that the governmental document's "last word" characterized the evolution of the Roman problem as "difficult but not impossible." Which after all was the point reached by the informal negotiations of Pope and Dictator before the public press had even started on its journey.

The *Foglio d'Ordini* changed the tempo and temper but not the theme of Mussolini's tune. Several things might have operated to bring about this. First of all came the unofficial sneer from anti-Fascist France that Italy's Dictator had met not only his match but his master in the Pope. Then, the less pro-Vatican section of the Fascist press boldly intimated that any territory granted the Pope might prove an embarrassing

handicap to some future Italy. Thirdly, the Vatican, having been carried a diplomatic inch by the Duce, ran a diplomatic mile and netted a red herring in alleged American sympathy with her cause. Fourthly, the Papacy resented the general Fascist chorus, presumably inspired, that the Pope had lost out and that the "negotiations" represented "the greatest triumph" of Fascism. Finally it is more than likely that some Foreign Office or other privately reminded Mussolini of the self-decreed super-sovereignty of the Popes of the Middle Ages and of the mischievous confusion of politics and religion, existing through those dark centuries. The Duce possibly was cautioned to make sure that he recrowned no new King of kings.

In December, 1922, Mussolini told a Milanese audience: "My father was a blacksmith, and I have worked with him; he bent iron but I have the harder task of bending souls."

Had the Dictator at last discovered there was one soul he could not entirely bend—the soul of the Papacy? Cardinal Gasparri, papal Secretary of State, was long a notorious foe of the Fascist ruler and his régime. So was Monsignor Marchetti, secretary of the Roman College of Propaganda, who a short while ago visited this country. While here he saw a number of American bishops on "matters pertaining to the propagation of the faith." In private reports from Italy his visit to these shores was connected with

informal negotiations then going on between Mussolini and Pius XI.

Not that the advice or sentiments of the American Hierarchy or American Catholics was solicited by the Supreme Pontiff. Marchetti's mission was at most a mission of "courteous notification" to the episcopacy of the present status of the Roman Question and of caution that nothing must be done on this side to jeopardize its possible solution. The undemocratic nature of the Papacy is strikingly seen in this *New York World* quotation from the *Osservatore Romano*, under date of October 15, 1927:

"The Pope must have his independence manifest to the whole world, but this does not mean that Catholics of the whole world must act as judges. The Pope himself is the sole judge of the guarantees needed to allay the anxieties of Catholics to his freedom."

CHAPTER IX

MUSSOLINI, THE SAVIOR

No matter from what angle you examine the Duce he reveals himself as a theatrical personality. From early youth his career has been a drama of intense action and vivid color. His evolution is like a series of "living pictures" upon which he himself has opportunely lifted or dropped the curtain. Mussolini might well be called today The Playboy of the Old World.

His birth at Predappio in 1884 was in a humble peasant setting. The father was one of the village blacksmiths in the Italian Romagna and something of a rebel at heart. His mother came from a higher class and was a teacher of sorts. She was the gentle spirit, who always sought to soften any harshness in that early domestic outline of the Duce. From her young Mussolini learned his first lessons and his devotion as a man until her death was a well-earned tribute.

After completing the elementary grades at Forli's communal school, he repaired to a minor teaching position in a small Romagnole town. But routine teaching never interested him. Politics almost immediately was his forte. Due to his father's groping eco-

nomic philosophy he drifted toward Socialism. The anvil was the smithy's "cracker barrel" and as a small impressionable boy, Mussolini had listened to a deal of inflammatory discussion.

Even in his youth he was a handsome and a forceful orator and many a country lass lost her heart if not her head to him. He was a gluttonous reader and between his speeches and his books he had leisure only for superficial and passing flirtations. Although it was given looser rein in later years, his youthful ambition curbed and controlled the balky and highly sensitive animal of sex in him.

At the age of 20 he was a violent electioneer. Caught in the act of smashing an election box he was arrested and convicted of the crime. Before the jail could swallow him he escaped into the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino in Switzerland. Here he learned French and tarried until his sermons on Socialism, Italian Irredentism and active atheism aroused the Swiss authorities to irritated reprisals. His freedom of expression on religious subjects especially enraged the Swiss powers-that-be. A professed atheist at the moment, he engaged in public debate with a Protestant minister, named Tagliatela. The topic was "God and Country." Subsequently Mussolini elaborated his anti-religious and Socialist argument and incorporated the whole thing into book form.

In a notice delivering "God and Country" to the

press the author expressed the hope that the volume would "sustain in the mind of the readers a hatred for any form of tyranny, spiritual and profane, whether it be theocratic or Jacobine." His preface to the first edition read:

" 'God does not exist—Religion in science is an absurdity, in practice an immorality, in men a disease.'

"This was the specific theme of my debate at Lausanne. Besought by certain comrades, I publish today the development of my thesis and also refute the principal arguments of the Evangelist, Tagliatela.

"The struggle against religious absurdity is more than ever necessary today. Religion has revealed its soul in the full glare of the sun. To be still deluded would be cowardice. No matter what the adaptations of the Church to the new and inexorable necessities of the times might be—it is to weep—they are attempts, generally vain, to resuscitate the titles of the 'divine bank,' which already is on the road to failure.

"Confronted with the spread of free thought, Pope Sarto (Pius X) fearful of the destinies of his dominion cried out:

" 'Faithful, the Anti-Christ is born!'

"The 'Anti-Christ' is human reason which rebels against dogma and a beaten god."

In Switzerland Mussolini eked out a slender living by working as a mason. He once dreamed of emigrat-

ing to the United States for the sake of "easier times" and "more money." But he was too "Italianissimo" for emigration. Besides, he presently increased his pittance-like income by teaching. He also attended university lectures whenever he could and did everything possible to deepen his intellect and extend his knowledge. Instruction, however, was always taken like life at its Socialist face value. French classics fed his soul when his stomach was empty. Italian and German philosophers of force quenched his thirst, when he had neither wine nor beer.

Expelled from Switzerland, he sought asylum in France, where he associated with Jaurès and Hervé, and stuffed himself with controversial reading along economic and social lines. He individualized everything even Socialism. His Socialism had always a national, never an international definition. He was Italian to his mental finger tips, as maddened French Socialists soon learned.

Restless for his native pæse he made his way back toward Italy via the Trentino, which was then Austrian. Here at Trent in his twenty-ninth year he served as secretary to the Socialist Chamber of Labor and edited the *Socialist Il Popolo.* It was at this point that he wrote as a weekly magazine serial "The Cardinal's Mistress." The book of this title, stolen from the Duce's literary family closet by Hiram Motherwell, an American newspaperman, has been published

in English by Albert & Charles Boni of New York. The story is a sweeping and colorful painting on a Renaissance canvas. There are high lights of vivid passion and illicit love and black shadows of ecclesiastical politics and intrigue. Here is a typical excerpt from the scarlet romance:

"We were not deceived. . . . It was the remains of Filberta.

"The acrid odor of decomposing human flesh compelled us to draw back a few spaces. . . . Then Antonio wished to see the woman whom he had so loved, so desired. The body was recognizable by the golden hair which fell over the pure forehead, and by the eyes not yet contaminated. But from the lips, decomposed into a ferocious grin, oozed a dense, whitish liquid.

"Don (Father) Benizio dwelt on this disagreeable detail knowing it would not frighten the inquisitorial souls which heard him. For it is characteristic of the Catholic Church, such a deceptive apotheosis of youth, beauty and flesh, of the mortal body which in the cold solitude of the sepulchers returns to vile dust, while the soul, purified and free of its mortal remains, awaits the summons of the apocalyptic trumpet of the Most High Judge.

"Moreover, Don Benizio was accustomed to the sight of corpses. It gave him pleasure to speak of death. He felt a secret satisfaction in the consoling

thought of worms devouring, fiber by fiber, the proud carcass of man.

"No one could escape this destiny! Neither Prince nor Pope! Nor the fair women whom Don Benizio coveted with that lust which is born of forced chastity, flagèllated by wanton thoughts and images of bestial unions.

"Nor—Claudia Particella, the courtesan of Trent, one more of that band of celebrated concubines whom Don Benizio had not been able to conquer.

" 'When, as the lamp flared up,' he continued, 'Antonio had gazed upon the remains of Filberta, he raised his hands to Heaven and cried:

" 'Murderer! Murderer!'

"Then he fell as though lifeless to the ground. His breast heaved to the rhythm of a silent sobbing which was suffocated in his throat.

"I placed a hand upon his mouth to suppress his cries. The nuns slept lightly and might awaken at any sound. I bent over my companion, lifted him up and obliged him to follow me. . . .

"My story is finished. But I say to you that those responsible for the death of Filberta must be punished, or the people will revolt.

"But the people as yet know nothing," remarked the Prior, who like his colleagues had not been greatly moved by the funereal narrative.

"They will know it soon," declared Don Benizio.

The theologian intervened to ask:

"Who is the person directly and immediately responsible for Filberta's death?"

"Her uncle the Cardinal—I do not hesitate to say so," replied Don Benizio.

* * *

Other early compositions of Mussolini, the littérateur, included "The Philosophy of Force." In this he borrowed from Nietzsche and extolled might. The argument was the formula of his later-day castor oil campaign for Fascism. Although he had apparently planned a colorful and critical history of religions he finished but a single chapter on John Huss, the Bohemian patriot.

In her revealing biography Margherita Sarfatti is authority for the statement that there was still another work, although it was destined never to see the light of publication. This was his so-called "History of Philosophy." "All the philosophical systems," writes Signora Sarfatti, "were dealt with in it critically and analytically, and all the new methods were subject to a Nietzsche-like examination. . . . The actual manuscript, complete in every detail and ready for the printer, met with the strange fate of destruction at the hands of a young woman of the people who had some right to be jealous of the author. Rummaging about among his papers for evidence bearing upon her suspicions, she came upon the voluminous note-

book. Darting her eyes over its pages, she noted any number of strange names and at once jumped to the conclusion that they were feminine names and that she had lighted upon an amorous correspondence. On the instant, the offending document was consigned to the flames and she was not satisfied until every bit of it had been reduced to ashes."

No woman save possibly his mother has left an indelible mark on the Duce's soul. Not that the opposite sex has not had a full quota of red letter days in the calendar of his life. Moreover, from all accounts the sun still rises for all Mussolini's purported engrossment in the affairs of State. In his more radical and less office-holding days the gate of his emotions kept swinging to and fro before the entrances and the exits of buxom petticoated Comrades.

His present wife taken in a free love arrangement almost twenty years ago has never quite melted in or quite faded out from the Duce's matrimonial experiences. To set an example to the nation, Signora Mussolini bore her husband a son two years ago. This was the so-called first child of the "second series." There are two other children, the older of whom is a girl. To this last offspring the Duce appears to mete out an occasional measure of affection. But the Signora stays at the family farmhouse in the old countryside, while from the seven hills of Rome her imperial husband like Alexander looks for more worlds

to conquer. A militant philosopher has neither time nor place for a conventional wife.

When Italy declared a general amnesty in 1910 Mussolini slipped out of Trent and returned to Forli. Definitely attached to political writing he became the editor of Forli's *Lotta di Classe*. There was no longer any holding or keeping a good man down. The influential group around the Avanti called him to Milan to edit that Socialist organ. It was the official paper of the Party and for a while Mussolini's imagination and pen ran wild. With the coming of the world war his fortunes changed. He abused and rejected his pacifist Socialist companionship. As he anticipated he was read out of the Party for his pains. To spread his interventionist views he founded, allegedly with the aid of French and English money, a Republican newspaper, which he named the *Popolo d'Italia*. His brother, Arnaldo, is running this same journal today but now it carries a Fascist and not a Republican editorial message.

After Italy's declaration of war against Austria Mussolini enlisted in the Italian Army. As a corporal of Bersaglieri he was wounded at the front. He read incessantly through his convalescence and for the first time, his friends now say, began to realize the disciplinary effects of militarism and religion. He went back to his journalistic last and hammered out and shaped more war propaganda than ever. Mussolini

"went Wilson" toward the war's close and the writer furnished him with more than one "Wilsonian gospel" from the Roman files of the Committee on Public Information.

But later he sympathized with d'Annunzio's raid on Fiume and President Wilson became his *bete noire*. In his journal and in his oratory he cautioned the fiery poet against stacking his guns in surrender. d'Annunzio, a demagogue himself, received his advice with studied politeness, and extended no official invitation for a coöperative effort. If the poet's star had not set, the Duce's might not have risen. Competition is not the life but the death of trade in Italy. d'Annunzio is living today on a monthly pension of $10,000 furnished by the Duce from the Government's exchequer. The poet is old and tired and the money is a comforting salve to any wound of vanity.

Ambition is the alpha of the Duce's psychology and power, the omega. That power, which has a concrete expression; that power, which wins or forces visible results. "For me revolution is not an attack of St. Vitus dance or an unexpected fit of epilepsy. It must have force, aims and above all method. In 1913, when the Socialist Party was already rotten, it was I who put into circulation the words which made the pulses of the big men of Italian Socialism beat: 'This proletariat is in need of a bath of blood,' I said. It has had it and it lasted for three years."

In his adolescence nothing could have brought out and developed Mussolini as the school of radicalism did. As the son of a poor blacksmith and young writer-orator he had no more effective bill board than the Socialist press; no better sounding board than the Socialist rostrum. As an orthodox political figure he would have been hidden behind the vocal backs of the more conservative leaders. These for the most part were older and more experienced politicians like Giolitti and Sonnino. Many of them were also of noble birth, ready to raise the barrier of class against any aggressive peasant from the Romagna. Mussolini's formation of a new aristocracy, based upon Fascist achievement and Fascist loyalty, goes back probably to an early social pique. The Duce never learned how to follow.

He was too thirsty for the liquid tangibleness of governmental success to make Anarchism or Socialism or Republicanism a life-long career. The Rubicon of radicalism was far too wide for his crossing. He wearied and turned back. Turning back was the opportune thing then; substituting the Papacy's moral cement for the original pagan marbles in the Fascist structure is the opportune thing, now. The charity of the Duce's religion covers a multitude of sociological sins. In a bombastic speech delivered at the Politeama Rossetti at Trieste, September 20th, 1920, Mussolini said:

"Rome is the name which filled history for twenty centuries. Rome gave the lead to universal civilization, traced the roads and assigned the boundaries; Rome gave the world the laws of its immutable rights. But if this was the universal task of Rome in ancient times, we have now another task. *Our destiny can not become universal unless it is transplanted to the pagan ground of Rome. By means of Paganism Rome found her form and found the means of upholding herself in the world.*"

Mussolini is neither so foolish nor so optimistic as to imagine for a single moment that the pontifico-Fascist dove of peace will never suffer a bruised or broken wing. Indeed, there is a dramatic sense in which competition to him is life itself. And life, moreover, is drama and the essential keynote of drama is struggle. Philosophizing once upon the constant "necessity for struggle," Mussolini observed:

"Struggle is at the bottom of everything because life is full of contrasts. There is love and hate, black and white, day and night, good and evil, and until these contrasts are balanced, struggle will always be at the root of human nature, as the supreme fatality. And it is a good thing that it is so. Today there may be war, economic rivalry and conflicting ideas, but the day in which all struggle will cease will be a day of melancholy, will mean the end of things, will mean ruin. Now this day will not come, because his-

tory presents itself as a changing panorama. An attempt to return to peace and tranquillity would mean fighting against the existing dynamic period.

"It is necessary for us to prepare ourselves for other surprises and struggles. 'There will not be a period of peace,' they say, 'unless the nations indulge in a dream of universal brotherhood and stretch out their hands beyond the mountains and the ocean.' I for my part do not put too much faith in these ideals, but I do not exclude them, because I never exclude anything; everything is possible, even the impossible and absurd."

Let the world laugh, and the Duce hears the world as a court jester. Let the world frown, and he laughs. Or he nonchalantly snatches up his violin to play in Nero fashion while Democracy burns. Or he speeds like a demon in his racing car or aeroplane. His forehead already bears the scar of one crash from the clouds.

There is something elaborately baroque in the character and leadership of Mussolini. Notwithstanding his Cæsarian pretentions he is amazingly like a condottiere of the Middle Ages. Keyserling made a passing reference to this likeness in his recent study, entitled "Europe." In the alliance of the Duce with Pope Pius XI, the former is again "the polemic, the agitator, the warrior, traveling to his political maturity," and traveling picturesquely with one eye

always on the crowd. The Duce is not the type who ever finishes a journey; the throne of Peter is not his ultimate goal.

Our former ambassador to Italy, Richard Washburn Child, has prefaced Scribner's edition of the official autobiography of the Duce. Throughout his introduction Mr. Child is loudly vocal in admiration and praise of the Fascist Dictator. A sketch of the spiritual side of Mussolini just the same is plainly seen through the laces of rhetoric. The portrait that one can piece together from the following fragments is all but photographic in its detail:

"In our time it may be shrewdly forecast that no men will exhibit dimensions of permanent greatness equal to those of Mussolini. . . .

"He has not only been able to secure and hold an almost universal following; he has built a new state upon a new concept of a state. . . .

"But no one knows Mussolini. An Italian newspaper offered a prize for the best essay showing insight into the mystery of the man. Mussolini, so the story goes, stopped the contest by writing to the paper that such a competition was absurd, because he himself could not enter an opinion. . . .

"Mussolini, first of all, above all, is a personality always in a state of flux, adjusting his leadership to a world eternally in a state of flux.

"Change the facts upon which Mussolini has acted

and he will change his action. Change the hypothesis and he will change his conclusion. . . .

"The imagination of true greatness covers a dynamic world. Mussolini conceives a dynamic world. He is ready to go on the march with it, though it overturns all his structures, upsets all his theories, destroys all of yesterday and creates a screaming dawn of tomorrow.

"Opportunist is a term of reproach used to brand men who fit themselves to conditions for reason of self-interest. Mussolini, as I have learned to know him, is an opportunist in the sense that he believes that mankind itself must be fitted to changing conditions rather than to fixed theories, no matter how many hopes and prayers have been expended on theories and programmes.

"I remember Lord Curzon's impatience with him long ago, when Mussolini had first come into power and Curzon used to refer to him as 'that absurd man.'

"Time has shown that he was neither violent nor absurd. Time has shown that he is both wise and humane.

"*It takes the world a long time to see what has been dropped into the pan of its old scales!*"

CHAPTER X

THE AMERICAN SCENE

The American scene is certain to catch reflections of Italy's drama. Although the principal actors are Italians, the whole Catholic world is in the cast.

It was not always thus. An early group of Roman Catholic Americans under the leadership of the Maryland Carrolls challenged the Papacy and strove to some extent for the nationalization of the Church. Unsuccessful though this endeavor was, the Vatican suddenly realized that a New World had been born not only with a body but with a spirit of its own. To a Pontiff of our Revolutionary epoch this phenomenon must have been as alien as a stranger from Mars.

Probably the first Roman Catholic modernist in American history was "Father John" Carroll. He was born in Maryland during 1735 and died in Maryland during 1815. In the middle of his priesthood the episcopal honor came to him. The dependence of American Catholicism on the Congregatio de Propaganda e Fide of Rome sorely troubled him.

On one occasion we find him writing privately to his diocesan fellow priests: "We shall, in a few years, stand in absolute need of a Bishop, but that of a

Bishop apostolic would give great umbrage, on account of his entire dependence, both for his station and conduct, on a foreign jurisdiction; he must be a diocesan Bishop, and his appointment must come neither from His Holiness, for that would create more jealousy in our government than even in France, Germany, or Spain, nor from the Assemblies or different Executives . . . but he should be chosen by the Catholic clergy themselves." These Americans fought a losing fight with the Vatican and Curia in their effort to win or wrest a large measure of self-government from Rome.

"What blocked the path to 'Independence and the American Way' for Roman Catholicism in the Revolution, and blocks it today," wrote Gino Speranza in his "The Religion of American Democracy" for the December, 1926, *Forum*, "is the character of the ecclesiastical and hierarchical government in that Church. Such government does not, and by the nature of its ecclesiastical organization cannot, originate in the governed. It rests on a supreme and infallible authority of a power exercised by a ruler 'natively' alien to the aspirations and ideals, to the history and culture, and to the language and religion of the American democracy."

Eighteen days before the Concordat was signed and a simple Pontiff became an actual "Papa-Re," Pius XI conferred papal titles on some twenty American

Catholics. These included the heads of the Anaconda Copper and the Erie Railroad as well as bankers and industrialists. Nor was the army and navy neglected.

Two of those receiving decorations were already Knights of Malta. They were given the Grand Cross of the Order, their wives at the same time being made Ladies of the Order. Twenty other Americans were made Knights of Malta. The Grand Cross was conferred upon James A. Farrell, President of the United States Steel Corporation, and Morgan J. O'Brien, former judge of the New York Supreme Court. Mrs. Farrell and Mrs. O'Brien were made Ladies of the Order of Malta. The recipients of Knighthood follow:

Cornelius F. Kelly of New York, president of the Anaconda Copper Company;

Henry O. Havemayer of New York, former president of the Brooklyn Eastern District Terminal;

Frederick J. Fisher of Detroit, Michigan, vice-president of the General Motors Company;

George MacDonald of New York, president of the Nassau and Suffolk Lighting Company;

John J. Bernet of Cleveland, Ohio, president of the Erie Railroad;

John J. Leahy of the Bank of Commerce, St. Louis, Missouri;

Joseph J. Larkin of New York, vice-president of the Equitable Trust Company;

Major General Edward L. Logan of Boston, Mass.;
Patrick O'Connell of Boston, Mass.;
Maurice F. Reidy of Worcester, Mass.;
Rear Admiral William Shepherd Benson, retired, of Washington, D. C.;
Adrien Iselin of New York;
John K. Mullen of Denver, Col., president of the Colorado Milling Company;
William D. Guthrie of New York, lawyer;
Frank D. Comerford of Boston, Mass., president of the New England Power Company;
Thomas E. Murray of New York, vice-president of the New York Edison Company;
Joseph P. Grace of New York, president of the W. R. Grace Company;
Amedeo P. Giannini (banker) of San Francisco;
D. T. Toohy of Spokane, Washington.

Cardinal Hayes made his first open utterance on the Concordat almost two weeks after the document was signed. His sympathetic public reaction was revealed in a pastoral letter which was read in the 440 Catholic Churches of the New York archdiocese.

The communication stressed the fiftieth anniversary of the Holy Father's ordination, which is being celebrated this year throughout the Catholic World. The Cardinal asked his diocesan faithful, numbering 1,273,291 persons, to observe this papal jubilee year by appropriate prayers and pious works. A part of

the pastoral, which detailed instructions for the observance of the Pope's jubilee year, follows:

"It is with unfeigned and unprecedented joy the Catholic World rejoices over the happy and peaceful reconciliation that Divine Providence has vouchsafed as a blessing to Holy Church in the recognition by the Italian Government of the God-given right to independence of the Holy See, the center of Christendom.

"Such a recognition by King, Premier and people, in addition to the blessing it calls from Heaven, enhances the dignity of Italy and presents a noble example to all civilized powers.

"The spiritual sovereignty of the Holy See can not impinge on nor impair, nor belittle the civil supremacy of the State by the latter's appreciation of a realm above and beyond its domain.

"The Jubilee Year has this added reason of glorifying God for the Vicar of Christ now gloriously reigning who has brought in the seven years of his pontificate unique splendor and lustre to the Chair of Peter.

"May God grant that the hopes of his Holiness will be realized in this year of his priestly joy. No more fitting tribute could be paid to the shepherd of Christ on earth than increased faith and piety among his children throughout the world."

"I desire very particularly," the Cardinal pre-

viously said, "that the pastors and assistants of the churches of the archdiocese and the religious teaching in our schools, academies and colleges, by frequent exhortation during the present year, bring to the attention of the faithful the most abundant spiritual benefits which they may enjoy through the observance of the jubilee.

"Surely no Catholic residing within this jurisdiction will fail to join his Holiness in this solemn act of thanksgiving for the wonderful blessings conferred upon him by our Divine Lord in granting him such a long and fruitful sacerdotal ministry now crowned by the glory of the Supreme Pontificate which he exercises with such universal admiration.

"I most earnestly ask the people of the archdiocese, and particularly the children of the schools, to be assiduous in prayer that the great blessings already conferred upon His Holiness during his long and zealous priesthood may be augmented to support the burdens of his pontifical responsibility.

"I likewise order that the prayer for the Holy Father 'pro papa,' be added to an Oratio Imperata to the mass on every day during the present year, when the rubric permits, beginning with the receipt of this letter."

The introduction to the pastoral letter was an announcement that the year 1929 marked the golden jubilee of Pius XI as a Roman Catholic priest. The

procedure of observance, as laid down by His Eminence, is as follows:

"A plenary indulgence in the form of a universal jubilee is granted to all the faithful of both sexes to be gained at any time during the year until the 31st of December, subject to the following conditions in the Archdiocese of New York:

"(a) Those residing in the Borough of Manhattan will visit the cathedral and two other churches of their own choice twice either on the same day or on different days.

"(b) Those residing in the boroughs of cities outside Manhattan where there are three or more parish churches will visit their parish church and any other two churches twice either on the same day or on different days.

"(c) In places where there are but two churches the required six visits must be divided between them; where there is only the local parish church all six visits may be made in it either on the same day or on different days.

"(d) In cases where the faithful of any parish under the leadership of the pastor, or some other priest designated by the pastor publicly observe the jubilee in procession, a visit to the parish church and two other churches once on any specified day is sufficient. Should there be two churches, two visits to the parish church and one to the other church in the

neighborhood are sufficient. Should there be only the parish church three visits to it will suffice.

"Fast and abstinence on two days other than days of fast and abstinence by the general precept of the Church are required to those desiring to make the jubilee.

"A good confession in addition to the annual confession of precept, and a fervent communion, on some other occasion than that selected for the fulfillment of pascal communion, are also required.

"Some contribution to a pious work, according to the individual means and by advice of confessor, should be made. His Holiness recommends the work of the propagation and preservation of the faith.

"To make the jubilee the faithful must pray for the following intentions of the Holy Father:

"1. For the strengthening and propagation of the faith.

"2. For the sanctification of the faithful and particularly of the clergy.

"3. For the conversion of sinners.

"4. For the extirpation of heresy and schism.

"5. For universal peace and concord among all nations.

"Any person who, for a just and seasonable cause, is prevented from fulfilling any of the above mentioned conditions or even all of them may be dis-

pensed by their confessors, provided some other pious work is substituted.

"The plenary indulgence of the jubilee may be gained either for one's self or for the souls in purgatory and may be gained as often as the conditions are fulfilled.

"All other indulgences granted for pious works, distinct from those imposed for the gaining of the jubilee indulgences, remain in force during the jubilee year. Moreover, to promote the spirit of prayer, all the faithful during the present year may gain an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines for each visit to Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, provided on such occasions they shall pray for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff. This special indulgence is in addition to other indulgences granted for the same pious work.

"All persons visiting the blessed sacrament daily for an entire week may gain a special plenary indulgence under the usual conditions.

"During the present year a personal privilege is granted to all priests offering the holy sacrifice of the mass by virtue of which a plenary indulgence may be obtained daily applicable to a soul in purgatory."

Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland was equally eulogistic over the pontifico-Fascist pact. "Roman Solution World Boon Says Bishop Schrembs" was the

way the *New York Catholic News* headlined it. The Cleveland prelate, however, could not see His Holiness going on any religious tour of the world. Dismissing a vision of a globe-trotting Pontiff, he remarked that "the Pope is too busy to make any great change in his routine of life." Probably "his greatest innovation will be to make a journey to Castel Gondolfo or to the northern part of Italy during the intense heat of summer; but the idea of traveling from one country to another is preposterous." Here is the text of the Bishop's statement:

"News of the accord between the Vatican and Italy is perhaps the most important and far-reaching event since the end of the great World War. It not only reëstablishes the cordial relations between the Vatican and the Italian Government, but it settles definitely and unquestionably the international status of the Holy Father's independent sovereignty.

"There has been much talk, during the years that have passed, of the 'Pope's temporal power.' This expression has been a perfect bugaboo to millions of people, and has constantly been used for the purpose of villifying the Church. Although it has been stated again and again that the principle underlying temporal power of the Popes was the 'principle of absolute independence' of the Holy Father from all secular interference in the exercise of his supreme spiritual power over the Church of Jesus Christ, which by

the ordination of Christ Himself must be as universal as the human race itself, the enemies of the Church never tired of holding up the 'temporal power' of the Popes as an illustration of the worldly ambition of the Papacy to wield secular power and to lord it over the governments of all nations.

"The whole world will rejoice at this happy solution of the question that has vexed the minds of some of the greatest diplomats and has kept five Popes imprisoned within the walls of the Vatican for over fifty years.

"The settlement of the 'Roman Question' will have far-reaching consequences not only for Italy but for the world at large. The kindly influence of the Holy Father and the eternal principles of truth, justice and charity of which the Papacy has ever been the consecrated exponent will henceforth sit in the councils of the nations of the earth and temper international hatreds and greed, ambitions, oppression and injustice.

"The statement that Italy will henceforth change its legislation so as to conform with Canon Law will, no doubt, be much misunderstood and abused by anti-Catholic writers. They will decry such an arrangement as Papal arrogance over temporal rulers and the just aspirations of the Italian nation. If such critics will only take the trouble to read even the meager details so far available, they will see that this so-called

conformity of the laws of Italy with the Canon Law of the Church really means nothing else than the recognition of the rights and the liberties of the Church in the exercise of her spiritual authority.

"Let me instance a few of these rights:

"1. The free appointment of Bishops and pastors without interference by the state, just as we have it here in the United States.

"2. The recognition of the validity of the religious marriage ceremony, demanding only the certification of such marriages to the state officials, just as is done in this country in the case of all marriages performed by any minister of religion.

"3. The liberty of religious training in the schools. While religious training in the public schools with us is out of the question because of the multiplicity of religious bodies, each differing from the other, yet even here in our own country of late years there has been an increasing demand for some sort of religious training based upon the conviction that religion is the fundamental basis of all morality.

"4. The right of the Church to own property that lawfully is hers but which heretofore has been confiscated by the State, just as the Church in the United States has the right to acquire, to own and to administer her own property without let or hindrance and with full recognition of her rights by the state.

"5. The right of the Church to develop her inner

life through the establishment and free functioning of her religious communities, just as obtains in this country, without interference on the part of the secular government.

"6. The exemption of the ecclesiastical students and the clergy from military service, just as we have it in this country.

"It will readily be seen, therefore, that the so-called accord between the civil authority of Italy and the Canon Law of the Church is simply recognition of the rights of the Church to function as a spiritual society without hindrance by the state.

"The agreement proves in a most striking way the indestructibility of the Church. Rome has an old proverb: 'Rome can wait.' Empires and kingdoms, kings, presidents, will pass away, and their hatred of the Church and their iniquitous legislation, their monuments of persecution, will bear witness to the future ages that God watches over His Church. It is the verification of the words of Christ: 'Behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world.' "

Finally, Cardinal Gasparri's official notification to the Hierarchy of the signing of the Convention occasioned formal and official public thanksgivings in Catholic churches throughout the country. These thanksgivings ordered by the various Bishops focused in an elaborate celebration in each diocesan mother church, as a cathedral is called. At St. Patrick's in

New York Cardinal Hayes presided. Pressure of diplomatic business prevented the attendance of the Italian Ambassador, Giacomo de Martino, who had been invited. Signor Magno Santovincenzo, Acting Consul General of Italy in New York, however, was there and heard a sermon on Church and State preached by Rev. John A. McGlorey of the University of Detroit. As reported by the *New York World* Father McGlorey's discourse had more than one unorthodox moment:

"In view of the prestige which temporal power gave the Pope in Europe," he said, "I believe that temporal power is more of a blessing than a curse. But Americans are not subject to the temporal power of the Pope, and if the Pope should declare war on America, it would be the duty of Americans to take up arms against him as was done centuries ago by the French and the German peoples.

"As to the Pope's spiritual power of teaching, it must be remembered his infallibility relates only to the Word of God, not to civil government, art, science, except when they pertain to faith or morals. He is infallible only when he speaks ex cathedra, for and to the Church. Such pronouncements have been few and far between.

"In spiritual jurisdiction the Pope is absolute, because Christ made him so.

"Catholics are obliged to obey the Pope in things

spiritual under pain of sin. But Church interference in politics must be looked for outside the Catholic Church. Events in the last several months bear me out in this.

"My private opinion is that the Holy Father hopes to be the spiritual arbiter of the world, to salve wounds, to remove mutual antipathies, to pacify nations. A world arbiter is necessary to-day; the nations of Europe and this country have within them the kindling wood for a great conflagration.

"International peace cannot be secured only by the application of the principles of justice and international law; it needs also morals and religion. The Pope is the logical one to act as a spiritual arbiter of the world."

Meanwhile, at Rome Pius XI was receiving the greetings and diplomatic congratulations of a hundred diplomatists already attached to the papal court. Or for the first time in fifty years inviting the Holy See's diplomatic corps to a formal dinner in the Vatican palace. A dinner at which Pius himself owing to papal precedent would act as host *in absentia.*

Reared and educated in Catholic surroundings, the writer as a youth was accustomed to hear many an American Catholic refer to the papal claim of "temporal power" as "a theory." These analysts and interpreters were representative not only of the intelligent laity but also of the priesthood. Some of them were

Catholic professors, like this same Father McGlorey. On this account one is far from being sure that every Catholic in the United States is keeping official step with the American Hierarchy in the present march of Pope and Duce. In fact, the Jesuit *America* editorially berates a certain "prominent Catholic" for saying publicly:

"I cannot help but conclude that any institution, *though it be divine*, will suffer by being in league with Mussolini."

The pro and con of religious polemic are common to the Old World. Nobody loves such an intellectual free-for-all more than the Italians themselves. A journalistic arena is readily, even gladly, provided for it. Catholic culture in Europe takes a Catholic and Protestant debate much more philosophically than Catholic America does. American Catholics for the most part are religious sentimentalists, going about with chips on their shoulders. Discussion with them is almost as difficult as argument. Sinister motives are unreasonably suspected where there are none. They can tolerate only one side of a question and that is their own side. Any Protestant debater is a bigot. At the same time, these Catholics reserve the right to say and do whatever they please about Protestants and Protestantism.

Roman Catholic Europe sees little profound culture or outstanding scholarship in Catholic America's

Hierarchy and priesthood. A French priest who recently made a tour of America expressed private astonishment at the "lack of culture" in the Catholic clergy. He contrasted it with similar groups abroad, especially in France, and asked the reason for American inferiority. He was told by a brother Frenchman resident in this country that the American priesthood for the most part was only two or three generations removed from the European peasantry. Cultural shortcomings were due mostly to this fact.

At the close of the war the writer asked a high Vatican official why it was that American Catholicism had no representative in the Curial government of the Church at Rome. The latter impulsively replied that there wasn't an American prelate "big enough to sit in Curia."

No less a person than Rev. Francis Woodlock, a prominent English Jesuit, brings out this difference between Old World and New World Catholicism. In a sermon preached Sunday, February 24th, at the New York Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Father Woodlock emphasized the encouragement given to the discussion of religious problems by the English press. He stated that during the last two years there had been "an extraordinary expression of interest by the London press in religion, so much so that many of the great daily papers have found it worth while to run series of articles on such topics as:

'Immortality,' 'Is Spiritualism Real?' and similar themes." On the other hand, not knowing the reason behind the neglect, he plainly intimated that he had failed to discover a similar interest in the American press.

Contributors of religious articles to the London press were characterized, for the most part, as lay men, "business men, horse racing experts and even comedians." "Even leaders of worldly fashion seem to have, today, some hunger for God and the things of eternity."

Religious polemic is not only better received and more popular in Europe but the Catholic protagonist there is likely to be more intellectually honest than his fellow Catholic here. In America there is a constant inclination to dodge the issue or beg the question. On the other hand, Europe's Catholic apologist can frequently be depended on to face the facts and march to meet them. For instance again and again Hilaire Belloc, the brilliant English Catholic, has proven himself an admirable Catholic sportsman. He has the public courage of his orthodox faith and his religious convictions. No forensic pussy-footing for him.

Here are two striking Bellocian Catholicisms written boldly in the public prints or proclaimed challengingly across the public platform. Although one relates to our own country, they both keep perfect

mental step with Belloc's oft-repeated hope to see England Catholic. "The tone" of Europe—France, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Ireland and the Valleys of the Rhine and the Danube—is "traditional and Catholic" in spite of the breezes of anti-clericalism which occasionally blow over them. "The modern skeptical movement—in the United States—the substitution of opinion for faith, leaves the ethics of the nation not unchanged, indeed, but still in an unbroken tradition, and that tradition is essentially Puritan."

In the *Century* for April, 1924, Belloc predicted a political conflict between the Catholic Church in the United States and the Government at Washington. Extracts from his daring but carefully reasoned paper, called "A Catholic View of Religious America," are as follows:

In the New World "the reaction of Catholic culture upon Protestant is hardly felt. . . .

"Certain consequences of religious difference which we in Europe had known for generations and allowed for were, in the United States, hitherto unknown, have but recently appeared, are still novel, and as yet not fully analyzed. Of these by far the most important—so much the most important that it covers all that is worth noting in the field—is *the necessary conflict between the civil state and the Catholic Church where the two are not identified.*" (Italicized in the *Forum* article). The Catholic Church is in its root

principle at issue with the civic definition both of freedom and authority. . . .

Between the Catholic attitude and "the attitude of a non-Catholic State which proposes 'tolerance' (that is, the definition of all religion as an individual concern), there is conflict. For tolerance means indifference to those acts and doctrines which the State treats as private, coupled with enforcement of certain acts and doctrines which the State insists upon treating as universal. . . .

"Up to the present day the position of the Catholic in the United States has insecurely fitted in with this modern conception of tolerance through the fact that the dogmas taken for granted by the State, and enforced in practice, were mainly Catholic dogmas; and that the action of the State, where its dogmas differed from Catholic dogma, was mainly negative and permissive.

"*But such a state of affairs cannot be permanent.* . . .

"It has already been proposed, and may at any time become law in certain parts of the United States, that a parent should be forbidden to send his child to any but one particular type of school agreeable to the State, and shall be compelled to send his child to that school. The State here affirms the doctrine and practice that a certain religious atmosphere is, or should be, universal to the human race; or, at any

rate, to all its citizens; which religious atmosphere is other than Catholic. Such a law no Catholic would obey; for, by Catholic definition, it is the parent who should decide upon the education of the child, not the State.

"In general, that conflict with which Europe is acquainted to the full, and which has filled the history of two thousand years from the time of Nero to our own, is inevitable. . . .

"*The chief political problem presented by religion has then still to be solved in the New World.* What the result will be certainly no foreigner could attempt to predict, and probably no Americani citizen who has recognized that problem from his reading of history, or from his instinctive reaction against the Catholic Church can foretell one either. *But presented the problem certainly will be, and in one or other of the many fashions, stable or unstable, more or less tragic, it will have to be solved. . . .*"

Our American tradition had long been sectionally jeopardized before the pontifico-Fascist agreement brandished the horns of its dilemma. Blood and religion have persistently preserved sections of our southland as provinces of France instead of parts of the United States. In his noteworthy study, called "Race or Nation," copyrighted and published in 1923 by Bobbs-Merrill Company, Gino Speranza mentions Louisianan Church notices calling upon "the Catholic

laymen of Louisiana" to pay their poll tax so that they might exercise the right to vote and thus make their "Catholic citizenship apparent to all men."

He speaks too of an early post civil war book, still found on Louisiana's bookracks. This volume carries the "Approbation de Mgr. l'Archeveque de la Nouvelle Orleans" and breathes the spirit not of the New World but of the Old World and France. The archiepiscopal imprimata states: "We have had examined a book entitled 'Histoire de la Louisiane, recontée aux Englants Louisianais' written in French. From a report made to us this book breathes sentiments truly Catholic, and, evoking the remembrance of France, the mother country of our Creole population, deserves to be published and we recommend it to our Catholic schools, parochial and otherwise." The book refers to the purchase of Louisiana by the United States Government as "la Domination Americaine" and so warns its readers:

"We must here notice, my children, the importance which our forebears attached to the maintenance of the French language in Louisiana. They fully realized all that the introduction of a foreign language would make them lose of their rights. For it is not a theoretic question, this question of language, but a question of independence and nationality."

Louisiana's State Convention as recently as 1921 in revising the old Constitution cited as a qualification

for the exercise of franchise the ability of the applicant to register "in the English language, or his mother-tongue." The French language, not the tongue of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, is the language of parish after parish in the State. The largest "American" city in the south is New Orleans. Her Roman Catholic Bishops "for more than one hundred years, up to 1917, have all been foreigners."

A Pope-Sovereign's flag was probably seen for the first time in New York harbor during the early days of July, 1757. Captain Lorenzo Ghiglino suddenly flew the papal colors for purposes of protection when his *Immaculate Conception and St. Ignatius of Loyola,* bound for the West Indies, was attacked by the American privateers, *Revenge* and *Hornet.* Shots were fired at the *Conception and St. Ignatius* and some little damage done to man and bark. One Italian sailor lost an arm in the one-sided combat. Ghiglino's vessel was afterward led into New York harbor and claimed as a prize by the commanders of the *Revenge* and *Hornet.* They asked the court for the condemnation and sale of the *Immaculate Conception and St. Ignatius.*

Ghiglino, however, fought this action. In a defensive petition to Governor Delancey he stated that he was a "subject of the Pope of Rome." According to Ghiglino's testimony when attacked he hoisted the Pope's Colors, as the ship sailed under "the Pope's pass." The suit was compromised outside of court

and the *Immaculate Conception and St. Ignatius of Loyola* set sail for Monte Cristo under safe conduct.

"The Pope's Flag" has frequently been seen since in and about America, especially in more recent years. The average American Catholic, knowing little about the political face of the Janus-like Papacy, did not realize that the pontifical pennant he saw and sometimes carried in religious processions was emblematic of the Church Temporal. The keys of Peter flag representing the Church Spiritual is practically unknown in this country.

It was not the "keys" banner but the Church Temporal banner that fluttered officially and unofficially in the Windy City of Chicago during the Eucharistic Congress. This same yellow and white streamer flew from the mast head of the ocean liner, which carried high Vatican dignitaries back to Italy, after the Congress had closed. Yes, long before the Mussolinian settlement of the Roman question Pius XI and other Popes before him had flown their temporal and royal banner, not their peculiarly spiritual one, in the face of the Catholic and Protestant worlds.

But all these things of the past could be obscured or blotted out entirely by the shadows that the execution of the new pontifico-Fascist Convention might cast upon the international stage!

CHAPTER XI

SHADOWS OF COMING EVENTS

In a wireless dispatch from the Vatican City the *New York Times* of February 21st pictures the unprecedented crowds of Romans and other Italian visitors who swarm about the new Papal State. As the correspondent observes: "It is very true that one does not appreciate things until he is about to lose them."

Far from denying that His Holiness is averse fundamentally to representation in the League of Nations the same wireless states: "It may be safely assumed no move in this direction will be made for the present." On this point the correspondent remarks more fully:

"Some doubt exists as to whether the terms of the Italo-Vatican Treaty prevent the Vatican seeking admission to the League of Nations. The Treaty states: 'The Vatican wishes to remain and will remain extraneous from temporal competitions between other states and from international congresses convened for this purpose.'

"This may or may not include the League of Nations. On the other hand, it is also doubtful how the League of Nations would receive an application for

membership from the Holy See. At the present moment the Vatican does not appear to desire membership in the League, and it may be safely assumed no move in this direction will be made for the present."

Voting possibilities of the League of Nations, already surveyed, seemingly indicate that the League's door would open sooner or later to the pontifical knock. The Catholic countries are sufficiently numerous to have the last if not the first say on the admission or rejection of the Supreme Pontiff.

Count Giuseppe Dalla Torre is the editor of the Vatican's official organ, the *Osservatore Romano*. He is, moreover, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Azione Cattolica Italiana. Few are better fitted to speak on the subject of "The Catholic Church and Politics" than he. And he has spoken, the *Forum* again being used far back in March, 1926, as a kind of Roman rostrum. Dalla Torre notwithstanding his metaphysical Latin mentality didn't beat about the bush of truth but carried his straightforward argument into the open. Even when the conclusion revealed his Church as an occasional political actor upon the national or international stage.

Moral law "exists for all free actions taken by the individual not only in relation with himself but also with his neighbor," fall his weighty words. "The conception of what is right and according to justice, as distinguished from what is wrong and unjust, with

the consequent condemnation of the latter, is born and develops in the very relation of the individual with the collectivity, that is, of the individual with the State, of the State with its citizen, of the State with other States. We can therefore say that while some moral actions have absolutely no relation to politics, political actions cannot be dissociated from moral law. They are, therefore, submitted to a two-fold judgment, moral and political, and the former will always be superior to the latter because it is vaster and embraces principles that apply to every human action. Furthermore, because of the intimate connection between morality and religion,—which in the mind of believers are two interdependent terms,—we find that politics, which is also governed and disciplined by moral laws, is closely connected and interferes with religion and is therefore subject to another spiritual authority."

Given certain conditions Count Dalla Torre takes as a matter of course the "interference" of the Church in the State's political affairs. "According to Catholic logic," he continues, "the Church, which is the custodian of religion, which interprets, teaches and applies religious principles, which endeavors to bring morality and social life into conformity with its teachings, cannot ignore politics; neither can politics repudiate the guidance and the advice of the Church. While the fields must be clearly divided, relations

between them must of necessity exist in connection with every problem in which the spiritual and the moral element is associated with the material element, and every problem which affects what Thomas Aquinas defined as 'the common good' proper to civilized society. And in the attainment of this, the claims of eternal ends which overshadow all things temporal, —as ends always overshadow means,—are not obstructed but are even furthered by the establishment of earthly welfare and justice. . . .

"*In other ages the Catholic Church has, in the face of serious danger, and under the pressure of events, been able to substitute civil authority which was either lacking or unworthy of government.* Some men belonging to the Church may have gone too far, or may have fallen into error; these are, however, historical exceptions and personal fallacies. The Catholic Church did not go beyond the aforesaid principles. Therefore we claim that its doctrine is all the more authoritative and devoid of suspicion once we have clearly stated the relations between the two fields, the two powers, the two activities.

"As Pius IX points out in the Syllabus, it does not logically follow as a consequence of what has been said before that the distinction and independence of the two powers excludes the authority of the Church, which is really the expression of moral and religious influence, from interfering in temporal and political

matters; it does not follow that politics and religion, civil power and religious power, are to be regarded as two ideal and practical activities destined according to a liberal theory to move along parallel lines and never meet. *The Catholic Church therefore affirms the principle of collaboration between the two powers in a Christian State. The separation between Church and State in principle, and especially when hostile to religious interests, is not admitted; it is even condemned.*

"For this reason Leo XIII affirms that 'it is necessary to have between the two powers an harmonious unity of purpose, which can be justly compared to the unity of the soul and the body'; and the same Pope in 1892 wrote as follows to the Bishop of Grenoble: 'We do not endeavor to enter into politics, but when politics comes to be intimately connected with religious interests, it is the duty of the Pope to determine the way by which these interests can be appropriately safeguarded.' "

Count Dalla Torre refers to the Azione Cattolica as "The social militia of the Catholic Church." In a description of this organization which in one form or another is a universal Catholic institution he set forth:

"It is well known that the program of the last Popes, from Leo XIII to Pius XI, has called upon the Catholic laity to partake in a 'social action' the

purpose of which is, under the guidance of the Church, to facilitate, often anticipate, and always integrate the aims of the sacred ministry. The laity was described by Pius XI as 'a quasi participation' in the ministry, and Benedict XV referred to it as the 'social branch.'

"The Catholics who partake in this social action with an absolute discipline are obviously bound by stronger ties to the duty of following in public life the teachings of the Catholic doctrines than are those Catholics who are not affiliated with it; it is therefore through their agency that in theory and in practice the principles of the Church are brought into social problems. . . .

"It does not abstain from political matters because in the first place, being primarily an organization designed to mold the social conscience of the Catholic citizens, it must face politico-moral and politico-religious questions and indicate their solution; in the second place, because it is a defensive movement intended to safeguard the rights of the Church as well as moral and religious liberties, and must therefore enter the political field in which alone the defense can be operative, through legislation or legal representation, and in which, moreover, the most serious and decisive attacks and opposition are likely to originate. It would be absurd to reason otherwise, for then one would have to assume that 'the restoration of all

things in Christ' as set forth in the omnia of Pius X did not include the bringing of Christianity into public life."

The noble Chairman of the Italian Catholic Action's executive committee revealed Pius XI himself as the uncurtained protagonist of this drama so alien to traditional America. He quoted a paragraph from an address made September 8, 1924, to a group of university students whom the Holy Father was receiving in audience:

"The Azione Cattolica, while not partaking in politics as such, intends to teach Catholics the best way of making use of politics. It offers the training demanded by every profession. Those who want to do good in politics cannot escape the duty of a suitable preparation. We remember meeting several members of the old German 'Centrum,' who had their headquarters in a theological library similar to the one which was to be found in all the offices of their organization. As a result Bismarck himself found a worldly match in those Catholic laymen each time he ventured on religious grounds."

Toward the conclusion of his *Forum* narrative Count Dalla Torre himself suggestively stated:

"The fundamental conception which sanctions the legitimate action of the Azione Cattolica 'also in politics' for the supreme aims of Christianity is also found in the Encyclical 'Ubi Arcano Dei' which assigns to

the organization the task '*of forming consciences of such exquisite Christianity*' as to be able 'in every moment, in every situation of both private and public life, to find or at least properly comprehend and apply the solution of whatever problems life may bring to the fore."

That Pope Pius is bending every effort to popularize "Catholic Action"—"Azione Cattolica"—in the world is obvious. As if in conscious or unconscious line with this pontifical policy various Catholic guilds are springing up in the United States. There are guilds for Catholic actors and Catholic lawyers; for Catholic writers and Catholic students. Plans to organize similar guilds of doctors, nurses, etc., after the manner of the Medieval system have been reported.

Shortly after the war the National Catholic Welfare Council organized a large bloc of the Catholic women of the country. Endeavors to unite a corresponding bloc of Catholic men were not so successful. However, the Knights of Columbus with its membership of a million has seen to this. Even the more snobbish papal Knights of Malta in this country now have their own organization. It was assembled and blessed in late 1928 by Cardinal Hayes. All these guilds, societies and whatnots have a priest or bishop as their chaplain or spiritual director.

"Catholic action" too is the slogan which the *Commonweal* under the editorship of Michael Williams has been periodically loud-pedaling. Mr. Williams is

one of our most active champions of the Catholic "lay apostolate." To all outward appearances the password to the Court of the new Pope-Sovereign is "Azione Cattolica."

Leo XIII in his encyclical, "Aeterni patris" of August 4, 1879, gave modern importance to the system of St. Thomas Aquinas, "the angelic doctor." He declared that the philosophy and theology of this thirteenth century schoolman was "the proper bases for all such teachings in Catholic Christendom." Pius XI has much of Leo's enthusiasm for The Summa Theologiæ of the Medieval Aquinas. He has made no concealment of his hope of impregnating universal Catholic leadership, clerical and lay, with scholasticism.

There is a growing group of neo-Thomists in this country. You find them among the younger and middle aged Catholic intellectuals. Catholic magazines and press are being used more and more as vehicles of their direct or indirect propaganda. You also see their work in non-Catholic publications. The National Catholic Welfare Conference's news bureau serves as a sort of clearing house for Catholic news. Through this bureau news circulated by the Catholic Press association is channeled.

According to Simon A. Baldus, president of the association, American Catholic periodicals, weekly and monthly, are read in "about 4,000,000 homes, not only by one but by several members of the fam-

ily." In the words of Baldus the aim of the Catholic periodical is to "supplement the sermon, to render dogma gracious, to expound the liturgy, to make the Catholic, often isolated and depressed, realize of how great a city he is citizen." The *Commonweal* in an editorial of June 6, 1928, called "The Lay Pulpit" records:

" 'The real battle is the battle of ideas with ideas.' One of the most saintly of the Pontiffs has told us that 'in vain will you found missions and build schools if you are not able to wield the offensive and defensive weapons of a loyal Catholic press!' "

The Vatican's policy, especially since the war, has looked toward a Roman-trained episcopate for Catholic America. In its choice of timber for American bishoprics Rome again and again has passed over eligible priests who were educated in American seminaries. In practice appointments to the American episcopacy are no longer somewhat democratically made by the diocesan clergy but oftener than not by the Apostolic Delegate at Washington. That former age of the Church when the people named their bishop is not an item in the Papacy's present-day policy. The American Catholic masses as such are not aware how their ecclesiastical superiors were named then and are named now.

Seemingly, the whole educational design of the Papacy for some years has been patterned to fit any

philosophical, political and religious exigencies which might grow out of the restoration of actual temporal power and the reëstablishment of a Papal State. As is customary in Old World diplomacy theoretical objections were probably imagined, weighed and met before they could be practically raised.

Several years ago Pius XI stressed the importance of biblical study and research. He took the Biblical Institute of the Jesuits at Rome under his particular care, approved of a branch house of studies in the Holy Land and decreed that only students trained by these Jesuits could occupy biblical chairs in Catholic colleges and universities throughout the world. The fact that these Catholic colleges had other besides Jesuit faculties made no difference.

Later Pius XI personally advocated and pushed the teaching of the Scholastic system of philosophy in Catholic colleges and schools. Such philosophical instruction incidentally obtains in the Jesuit curriculum. Under its new president, Dr. James Ryan, the Catholic University at Washington, D. C., makes a specialty of Scholasticism. This educational gesture in our national capital received the eulogistic approbation of the Holy Father when it came or was brought to his attention.

The natural fountain head of all these currents is found in a climacteric situation existing in the same Catholic University at Washington. There the profes-

sor occupying the chair of Canon Law is not an American but an Italian citizen and no less a person than the nephew of His Eminence, Cardinal Gasparri, papal Secretary of State. His name is Rt. Rev. Mgr. Fillipo Bernadini, J.U.D., S.T.D. Coincidence or not, Bernadini's post is at least a question mark in the grammar of our American tradition.

During the past two years the *Osservatore Romano* seems to have gone out of its way to criticize the United States. First our motion pictures were held up to scorn and belabored as nothing but the reflection of our materialism. The fact that the Italians are temperamentally a much more commercial people than Americans quite escapes that paper's notice. Next our prohibition law—this before the start of Governor Smith's presidential campaign—was declared to be a failure. The Vatican's final verdict was that the law does more harm than good. A letter written to the *New York Herald-Tribune* by Mr. Neason Jones throws an ironical sidelight upon the *Osservatore Romano's* stand on the American liquor question. Mr. Jones is a New York real estate operator and prominent Protestant churchman. His communication follows in full:

November 13, 1928.

To the Editor
The Herald Tribune:

It is interesting to note by press despatches in your Saturday's issue from your Rome correspondent that the Vatican

"after mature deliberation" has decided to get on the bandwagon, so to speak, in acclaiming "Herbert Hoover's victory." In a former copyrighted despatch from your Rome correspondent the attitude of the Vatican toward the prohibition law is so at variance with the attitude of Mr. Hoover as to very properly give rise, to say the least, to the question of consistency.

The despatch referred to was published in a "boxed" news item on the front page of your January 3rd edition, under the caption: "End Dry Law, Urges Vatican Newspaper," and said:

" 'Osservatore Romano,' generally credited as the mouthpiece of the Vatican publishes an editorial saying that the attempts to enforce prohibition in America 'have been so useless, not to say dangerous, that it would be better to abolish it, especially since unbridled passion is always more rampant as soon as there is an attempt to enforce complete abstinence.' "

It was this same attitude toward the 18th Amendment reflected in his telegram to the Houston Convention which is generally conceded to have contributed more to Governor Smith's defeat than any other single factor in the campaign. It would be of interest to know whether in hailing Mr. Hoover indicates that the Vatican now stands with him in his belief in the prohibitory law.

NEASON JONES

New York,
November 13, 1928.

To the pontifical mind not money but Masonry apparently is the root of all evil. With the Roman Question's settlement this conviction seems destined to

wedge more deeply than ever in official Catholic soil. In August, 1928, the Vatican's organ, the *Osservatore Romano,* was accusing the Masons of inspiring "nefarious divorce laws in all countries." To Masonry was attributed the desire to disorganize the family and dechristianize society.

"It is, therefore, most natural," ran the *Osservatore's* article, "that judges and other public servants charged with administering this poison find it profitable to speed up the breaking of ties which for them no longer hold any sacred character but are considered merely an easy means of satisfying momentary caprices."

The *Osservatore's* topic was "speedy American divorces." These were roundly denounced. The conviction that "it is not stricter surveillance that is needed but radical suppression of the whole pernicious law of divorce" was unequivocally expressed. "A tree is known by its fruits and the divorce law has only a poisonous product" declared the present Pontiff's journalistic organ. "To cry over this is an act precisely like the shedding of tears by a crocodile."

This anti-Masonic attack of 1928 was renewed by the same paper from a different angle in early 1929. The Vatican now insisted that the Masons were hiding under the cloak of the Rotarians and soiling the latter's white robe. I. D. Sutton, an Englishman, who

is president of the International Rotary Club, is himself a Roman Catholic and there seemed something incongruous in the charge. In fact, the Vatican went so far as to intimate, publicly, in early February, that the ban placed upon Rotary Clubs would be lifted. A few days later the *Osservatore* returned to its anti-Rotary war with renewed vigor.

The troublesome ban was imposed by the Consistorial Congregation. It prohibited members of the Roman Catholic clergy, American or otherwise, from joining or supporting Rotary Clubs. This prohibition was largely the result of Mussolinian and Jesuit opposition to Rotary. The Duce opposing any civil associations, which are not essentially Fascist organizations, especially those with international relations, long ago cast a critical eye upon Italian Rotary. He saw the Masonic nucleus in it as potentially, if not actually anti-Fascist, and feared the personification of this element as the scheming midwife of a Republican revolution seeking his own and Fascism's overthrow.

The Duce took his initial public action against the Italian Rotarians in December, 1928. He instructed August Turati, secretary of the Fascist Party, to see that local Fascist authorities disciplined or admonished all Italians wearing a Rotary instead of a Fascist emblem. Turati addressed a circular containing the Duce's order to all provincial secretaries. In

Italy the general impression at the time was that Mussolini believed there was a secret connection between Rotary and Masonry. Mussolini had hoped that he had quite stamped out Italian Masonry when he suddenly espied or fancied he espied "the old Masonic snake in Rotary's innocent-looking grass."

The Italian Jesuits with their own axe to grind made Mussolini's quarrel their own. Their review, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, whose contents are examined and approved by the papal secretariat of state before publication, began its acrimonious polemic against Rotary last June. The *Civiltà Cattolica* contended that the Rotary movement—notwithstanding its large Roman Catholic make up—is at bottom hostile to the Roman Catholic Church. This Jesuit periodical alleged that the Y. M. C. A. and International Rotary are subtly used by American Freemasonry for anti-Catholic plots and schemes in Mexico and all Latin America. As evidence, the *Cività Cattolica* adduced "a message of devotion" sent by Mexican Rotarians to President Calles and certain pro-Mason sentiments allegedly uttered by the head of the Rotary Club of Caracas, Venezuela. This Venezuelan, it was charged, publicly announced that Freemasonry and the Rotary movement have common ideals and common aims.

"We believe," observed the *Osservatore Romano*, sitting in judgment on the affair, "that such manifestations of approval are not necessary to prove one

self a good and obedient citizen. Indeed, in the case of a tyrannical government like that of Calles, which has caused the indignation and loathing of the whole world by its iniquitous persecution of the Catholic Church, such manifestations are gravely illicit. They assume a political and anti-religious character in conflict with the very statutes of the Rotary movement, which explicitly exlude religion and politics.

"Besides," it added, as the *New York Times* reports, "although it may be argued that Catholics belong to Rotary Clubs in Protestant countries without harm, the same cannot be said about Catholics in Catholic countries where Rotarianism has been invariably received with diffidence and opposition."

Almost immediately after the issuance of the banning order of the Consistorial Congregation the Spanish Episcopate forbade all faithful Catholics to belong to Spanish Rotary Clubs. "From this it may be deduced," concluded the *New York Times,* "that, unless something is done to explain matters, Rotarianism throughout the World is to meet with the full measure of the Catholic Church's opposition." Apparently any fraternal, social or philanthropic society which assumes a purely negative attitude toward any and every religion is prey for the scrutinizing and death-dealing eye of the Papacy.

An earlier editorial in the *Osservatore Romano*—Jan. 22nd—stated that even Rotary's purported

negative attitude toward religion was reprehensible. This policy was seen to make a void "in which the germs of Masonry may be created." Should the Supreme Pontiff apply or seek to apply this principle universally, the free social movement of his international subjects would be seriously curtailed. Not only divisions but cleavages between Catholics and Protestants would be set up everywhere and rivers of bad blood and suspicion generated and let loose.

Small wonder that Rev. John J. Burke, late in 1928, carried American Catholic objections to Rome just as Cardinal Gibbons before him took up the cudgels of industrial justice and fought out, before Pius IX, the case of the American Knights of Labor. Cardinal Gibbons was successful. The Pope raised the ban against the Canadian Knights of Labor and refrained from his contemplated move against the American organization. Incidentally, the present American Federation of Labor evolved out of the old Knights of Labor.

Mr. Sutton in defending Rotary took the position that the Vatican was illogically arguing from a particular to a universal proposition. He fixed to the point that a worldwide organization was at the most being unjustly condemned for the offenses of individuals. Sutton backed his defense with letters from American Catholics as well as with Father Burke's pro-Rotary representations.

Under a Washington date line in its issue for February the twentieth the *New York Times* says that Father Burke more than six months ago surveyed American Rotary and reported to the Vatican on it. This report, according to the *Times*, held that "no good reason had been found after an investigation in this country, why priests should not join the organization. The report has never been made public and officials declined to give it out tonight." Father Burke is the executive secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

During early March Father Burke and Mr. Sutton again saw the Pope. In response to their plea the Holy Father this time definitely lifted the ban against the membership of priests in Rotary. He promised them, moreover, that the ban would "stay lifted" and the confused situation be clarified. The pontifical warning, however, that clerical members must never do anything unbecoming "ecclesiastical dignity" was officially sounded.

Eighteen months ago, the writer introduced and sponsored, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a series of papers called "The Catholic Church and the Modern Mind." These essays all of which aimed at constructive criticism of a "system," not a Church, were written by an anonymous Roman Catholic priest. Asked how his mind reacted to the specific settlement of the Roman Question, this prominent cleric wrote:

"It is difficult to sketch the implications of the Canon Law spirit in the new Concordat. It is, it seems, the first time a nation has been put on the basis of Canon Law. This would seem to indicate that the people (of Italy) are to be governed by a twofold code of laws, civil and religious.

"Whether both the codes will be enforced by the same police body is not altogether clear. It could mean that all the external religious rules and regulations that bind Catholicism in general, by conscience or piety, will bind Italians by law. So that it might become, for instance, a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment to miss mass on Sundays or holy days.

"Of course religious instruction is obligatory in all governmental schools. The Church is given complete jurisdiction in spiritual and religious matters. Logically all non-Catholic Churches should be excluded from the realm. The State is bound to uphold the authority of the Church, using coercive measures when necessary in certain contingencies.

"In this Concordat the most complete union of all times seems to have been effected. On principle, for instance, the policeman might be obliged to bring in the children to catechism if they fail to come, and to arrest their parents for breaking the law. For a law of the Church becomes a law of the land. In a word,

two great authorities are bound together to rule the poor Italians.

"For the citizens of this country the Concordat will doubtless have a twofold effect: 1—The bigots it has filled with joy and fanatical madness; 2—The thoughtful are amazed at this brazen piece of medievalism that has been put forth in these modern times. It wipes away in one bold gesture all that Al Smith and his ilk have maintained. It makes American Catholics realize that after all temporal power is a fact not a theory."

Indeed, in pre-settlement days, at any rate, there was a conspicuous number of Roman Catholics in the United States who believed that "the solution of the Roman problem psychologically would do the Church more harm than good." It might turn out to be "even one of the worst things that ever happened the Church." As a "prisoner in the Vatican" the Holy Father appealed to the popular heart and imagination of Catholic America.

With Italy's Church and State collaborating if not united in official fashion, what couldn't happen should Mussolini suddenly die and the Fascist house crumble! In a chaotic Italy where the Papacy alone had popular power, the Supreme Pontiff might almost be forced to seize the wheel of complete authority, and sail and guide the ship of State how and where he willed. Truth is stranger than fiction and more

extraordinary events than this have happened in history. We have today a "Papa-Re." Tomorrow, it is quite possible, might usher in something like the Holy Roman Empire.

CHAPTER XII

ALL ROADS MUST LEAD TO ROME

After all, the Treaty and the Concordat are only unfaltering steps of logical consistency on "the way, the light and the truth" of official Roman Catholicism and papal infallibility. Were they not, as a matter of fact, directed by the Pope's encyclical signpost on the reunion of Christendom, erected a year and four months since! This road sign in unmistakable language told inquiring Protestant leaders that "all roads must lead to Rome." This was the Supreme Pontiff's response to the invitation of Protestantism to coöperate in the movement looking toward Christian Unity.

Indeed, Pius XI has been heroically, even gloriously honest in this latest exposition of dogmatic Catholic conviction. Unprejudiced persons must admire his assured profession of faith. Such a magnificent defiance of anti-Catholic bigotry is in conspicuous contrast to the intellectual dishonesty or the spiritual timidity of many a subordinate Roman Catholic prelate and cleric. There is a sense in which the Supreme Pontiff is thrillingly Supreme.

Incidentally, this manuscript has not attacked and did not intend to attack any religion or any religious

personality. The thesis and its development bear only upon the restoration of temporal power and the return of the Popes to actual temporal sovereignty. Argument has been piled upon argument not for the purpose of disparaging Roman Catholicism or upsetting the simple faith of members of the Roman Catholic Church. The writer has sought merely to show that the recent moves of Pope and Duce on the strange checker-board of religion and politics are out of line with the twentieth century and its revelations, scientific, educational and spiritual.

Italy's Church and State today glance back historically at a long buried yesterday. Each has a tendency to regard outsiders as "barbarians." Some of that old Roman spirit has come out and is symbolized in this pontifico-Fascist handshake on the Tiber's banks.

An American newspaper woman, vacationing several years ago in the isolated Italian Marches, had a parallel experience. Her peasant landlady noting that she did not go to mass on Sunday remonstrated with her. She defended her position by saying that she was not a Roman Catholic. Thereupon, her interlocutor apologized:

"Excuse me, Signorina! I thought that you were a Christian. I didn't understand that you were a pagan."

The American girl, who happened to be a church-going Protestant, was amazed as well as amused at

this peasant evidence of religious ignorance. The rustic had never heard of Protestantism.

That rural innocence is one more symptom of the sometimes naïve dogmatism in present-day Italy. Out of the latter came naturally the aforementioned encyclical on Christian Unity. Because of the latter the reaction of the non-Catholic world that the plain-spoken document was an attack upon official Protestantism made no mark on Rome.

In the light of recent events this communication of Pius XI to the world is charged with new meaning. Not only is the dogma of Roman Catholicism unequivocally characterized as the single gateway to the reunion of Christendom but a veritable Gibraltar is thrown up by the Papacy against the onward march of scientifically progressive religion. The encyclical as reported by the United Press follows in full:

"To the venerable brothers, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops and others having peace and communion with the apostolic see:

"How to promote true religious unity.

"Venerable brothers, salutations and apostolic blessing. Never perhaps from times past have we seen in the hearts of men such intense desire as we see today to strengthen and extend to the common good of all human society those fraternal relations in which we all are united closely by bonds of the same nature and origin.

"In fact, nations are not yet enjoying the gifts of peace. Indeed, there are outbreaks of ancient, as well as new disagreements and seditions, besides civil strife. They are not able to suppress many controversies which affect the tranquillity and prosperity of peoples where concordant action and work by those governing States do not occur.

"It is easy to understand how so many wish to see unity in various nations, tending towards this universal brotherhood.

"Efforts not unlike those are studied by some in order to obtain from them some order of new law promulgated by our Lord Jesus Christ. I am persuaded that most rarely are men found without any religious sentiment. They seem to hope that peoples, despite dissentions in religion, may devise without difficulty some doctrine on a common basis of spiritual life. Therefore, they are accustomed to call congresses, meetings and conferences.

"With large adherence of persons they invite promiscuously all to discuss—infidels and every degree of Christians, even those who persistently deny the divinity of Christ's person and his mission.

"Such attempts cannot obtain the approval of Catholics. These movements are founded on the false theory presupposing that all religions are good and meritorious; therefore all, although in a different way, manifest and signify equally that sentiment in-

born in us to be carried to God for reverent recognition of His dominion.

"Followers of such a theory not alone deceive and err but repudiate true religion, distorting concepts, tending little by little to naturalism and atheism whence clearly those adhering to such theories detach themselves from the religion revealed by God.

"Under the appearance of good they more easily hide deception when they try to promote the unity of all Christians.

"Is it not perhaps just, they repeat, or is it not rather conforming to duty for those who invoke the name of Christ, to abstain from reciprocal recriminations by drawing closer the bonds of mutual charity? And who would dare say he 'loved' Jesus unless with all one's strength one accepts to follow His desire and pray that His disciples may 'be one'?

PAN-CHRISTIAN GROUP

"Did not the same Jesus Christ wish perhaps that his disciples be marked and distinguished from the others in mutual love and say 'All know you to be my disciples by loving one another?' They say, asking God's help, that all Christians may be one, and that it would be easier to drive away the plague of impiety which threatens each day to overthrow the gospel.

"These and other similar arguments do Pan-Chris-

tians affirm and amplify, collecting small curious groups which increase, meeting together under the direction of non-Catholic leaders. Though differing in questions of faith they promote their undertakings with such earnestness as to conciliate here their numerous Catholic adherents, even to capture the latters' souls by the flattering hope in success of Christian union which seems to respond to the desires of the Holy Mother Church to which, indeed, nothing is more greatly at heart—namely, to recall and to return its erring sons to its lap.

"But under this insinuating flattery of words they cite grave errors which tend to undermine totally the very foundation of the Catholic faith. Meanwhile the conscience of our apostolic office, imposing itself upon us, will not permit the Lord's flock to be seduced by dangerous illusions. We recall, Venerable Brothers, your zeal against such great dangers, and we are certain that by means of your writings and words you will reach your people more easily by arguments on the principles which we now expose and will be more easily understood by the people. Thus Catholics will know how to judge and regulate themselves where they must deal with the initiatives of those who are understood to procure union solely because they say they are Christians.

WHY GOD MADE US

"God, the maker of the universe, created us that we might recognize Him and serve Him. It follows He has the full right to be served by us. God could have prescribed the natural law alone for government of man and this law could have been placed in man's heart on the very moment of creation to regulate the progress of this same law.

"Instead He preferred to impose precepts upon man in the course of centuries from the very beginning of the human race to the coming and preaching of Jesus Christ. He wished to teach man the duties which bind reasonable beings to their Creator, 'God who many times and in many ways spoke one time to the fathers through the prophets and later in these days spoke to us through His own Son.'

"From this it follows we cannot have religion except as founded on the revealed word of God. Revelation commenced from the beginning and continued in the Old Testament and was fulfilled in the New by the same Jesus Christ.

"Now, if God has spoken—it is historically certain He has spoken—all understand it is man's duty to believe absolutely in God's revelation and obey all His commands because it is right that His only Son founded His Church on this earth that we may fulfill

all these things for divine glory and our own salvation.

"Those calling themselves Christians cannot but believe in the institution of the Church, as one Church alone, as Christ's work, but if one wishes to find out what the Church should be according to the will of the Founder, then all of them do not agree.

"Amongst them, for example, there are those who deny that the Church of Christ must be visible at least in the sense that it must appear as a single body, faithful in agreeing in one single identical doctrine under a single magistracy of government, meaning by a visible Church nothing more than a society formed from various Christian communities. Some adhere to this doctrine and others to other doctrines, even though these doctrines are opposed.

CHURCH AS SOCIETY

"Instead, Christ, our Lord, founded His Church as a perfect society of his external tangible nature, so that it pursued its work in the future for the salvation of the human race under the guidance of a single head by means of teaching the administration of sacraments and founts of heavenly grace. Therefore, in his parables He has likened it to a kingdom, to a house, to a fold, to a flock. Such a Church so marvelously constituted on the death of its Founder and apostles who first propagated it could absolutely not

cease nor be extinguished, because to it was entrusted the task of bringing all men to eternal salvation with no distinction of time or place 'to go teach all peoples.' In continual fulfillment of this mission will the Church have less worth and efficacy if it is continually helped by Christ's presence, according to his solemn promise 'Behold, I am always with you until the end of the world.'

"Therefore the Church of Christ not only must subsist today, tomorrow and forever, but must subsist as exactly it was in the apostolic time, if we do not want to say—which is absurd—that Jesus Christ either failed in His intent or erred when He affirmed that the gates of hell would never crush His church.

"The opportunity is afforded here for clarifying and confuting wrong opinion from which the whole present question seems to be depending and the multiform action of the non-Catholics—conspiring against the union of Christian churches—seems to be originating. Supporters of such initiative seem to be untiring in quoting Christ's words, 'there will be one flock, one shepherd,' in the sense, however, as if those words express Christ's wish and prayer which are not yet satisfied.

UNITY OF FAITH

"They, in fact, contend that the unity of both faith and government—which is a peculiarity real only to the Church of Christ—never existed before now and

is not even existing today. They say such unity may be desired and perhaps may be attained in the future through coöperation of the faithful, but meanwhile that it constitutes mere ideality.

"They say, furthermore, that the Church by itself or by its very nature is divided into several parts, namely, that it is composed of many churches of particular communities which hitherto have been separated and, although having some doctrinal points in common, yet differ in others. They also hold that to each of these churches the same rights are due and the Church—granting it ever was one and unique—was such from the Apostles' epoch to the early councils.

"They also affirm that putting aside controversies which hitherto have divided the Christian community, the remainder of the doctrines should constitute one common rule of faith in which all ought to feel as brothers, and that only if joined by a universal pact will the different churches be able to oppose the advance of incredulity.

PROTESTANT POSITION

"This, Venerable Brothers, is what is commonly said.

"There are, however, some affirming that Protestantism has unwisely rejected certain points of faith, together with certain rites of external cult—certainly

acceptable to use in full—which the Roman Church on the contrary is preserving. They, at the same time, add that this very Church corrupted old Christianism by proposing belief in several doctrines which are not only alien but opposed to the Gospel, including the doctrine about the primacy of jurisdiction granted the Roman See in Peter and his successors.

"Among those so contending there are a few who grant the Roman Pontiff primacy of honor or certain jurisdictions, although they make the latter originating, not from divine right, but, in a certain sense, from consent of the faithful.

"Others go even so far as to desire the Pontiff to lead their multi-colored conventions.

"It is easy to find many non-Catholics preaching fraternal community in Christ, but it is hard to find even one willing to submit to the Vicar of Christ or lend ear to his teachings.

"Meanwhile they themselves proclaim they are ready to deal with the Roman Church, though with parity of rights or equal footing, although it would be certain that if they deal in such a way they would do it with the intent of arriving at an agreement enabling them to maintain the very opinion now keeping them outside the sole flock of Christ.

"It is clear that the Apostolic See cannot, under such circumstances, participate in their meetings, nor

can Catholics in any way adhere or support such attempts.

"Should they do so Catholics would lend authority to false Christian religion, far different from the sole Church of Christ.

"But could we tolerate the most nefarious attempt of drawing the truth as divinely revealed into barterings? It is a just question, defending truth as revealed.

"Jesus sent the Apostles to preach the gospel throughout the world, and in order that they might not err he wanted them taught in all truths by the Holy Ghost. Has, perhaps, this doctrine of the Apostles ever failed or faded within the Church, which is led and guarded by God himself? And if our Redeemer said His gospel concerned not only the apostolic period, but also future epochs, could the object of faith become so obscure and uncertain throughout the ages as to tolerate today conflicting opinions?

"If this is true, then it likewise could be said that the descent by the Holy Ghost on the Apostles and the perpetual presence of the Holy Ghost within the Church and even Christ's preaching had lost any usefulness or force for many centuries, but such an assertion would be tantamount to blasphemy.

"Furthermore, God's son not only commanded His messengers to teach all nations but ordered the whole of mankind to believe the truths expounded to them, by witnesses chosen by God. At the same time He

strengthened His order with His sanction, whereby any one who shall believe and shall be baptized shall be safe and any one not believing shall be condemned.

"Now this doubt of the command of Christ of believing His teaching in order to have eternal safety could not be understood if the Church would not have set forth the gospel and doctrine fully and clearly, and the Church would not be immune to the danger of erring in teaching.

"Therefore it is far from the truth that any one who, while admitting the existence of a store of truth on earth, thinks it must be sought with such hard efforts that man's life is hardly sufficient to find and enjoy it as if God had spoken through his Son and the prophets, because only a few old men might learn the truth as revealed by Him.

"It may seem that these Pan-Christians, who are busy in uniting churches, are aiming at noble intent by promoting charity among all Christians, but how could charity be harmful to faith? Everybody knows that St. John, the Apostle of Charity, in his gospel revealed secrets most sacred to the heart of Jesus and used to preach a new commandment, 'Love one another.' He prohibited having intercourse with those not professing Christ's doctrine fully, saying, 'If anybody comes to your home who does not profess such doctrine, don't admit him or even salute him.'

UNITY IN FAITH

"Therefore, inasmuch as charity is based on sincere and integral faith it is necessary that disciples of Christ be united principally through the bond of unity in faith.

"How then can we conceive a Christian community whose members freely maintain their own way of thinking even though it be opposed to the way of others?

"How could men following opposite principles be part of one and an equal community of the faithful? How could one form a part of such a union where there are those affirming the sacred tradition is a genuine source of divine revelation and those denying it; those holding the ecclesiastical Hierarchy is composed of bishops, priests and ministers as divinely constituted and those affirming the Hierarchy was gradually organized through times and circumstances; those worshipping Christ as present in the Holy Eucharist through transubstantiation, and those stating that the body of Christ is present there only through faith or as a sign and virtue of the sacrament; those recognizing the nature of sacrifice and sacrament in the Eucharist and those maintaining that the Eucharist is simply a recollection or commemoration of the last supper; those esteeming the invocation to the Saints, especially the Virgin Mary, together with

the veneration of their images as good and useful, and those contending that such a cult is illicit because it is opposed to the honor of the only mediator between God and men, namely Jesus Christ?

"In view of such variance of opinion we do not know how it is possible to prepare the ground for unity of the Church in view of the fact that such unity cannot arise except from one authority, one law, and one faith in Christians. We do, however, know it is easy from such variance to fall into indifference toward religion and into modernism which makes believe that dogmatic truth is not absolute but comparative, namely, subject to the various needs of times and circumstances and tendencies of the spirit, since it is not based upon immutable revelation but upon conformity to life.

"Furthermore, it is not consented in the matter of faith to resort to a difference between fundamental and non-fundamental articles as if the former should be accepted by all and the latter left free to acceptance by the faithful.

"The supernatural virtue of faith cannot consent to such difference since it has good formal authority as the cause. Hence all Christians give to the dogma of the immaculate conception the same faith as to the mystery of the Holy Trinity and believe in the incarnation of God the same as in the infallibility of

the Roman Pontiff in the sense set by the Vatican Ecumenic Council.

"Not because these truths are solely proclaimed by the Church in various epochs even though far from us are we less certain or less credible. Is it not perhaps God who proclaimed them? The authority of the Church, although daily exercised by the Roman Pontiff and the bishops occasionally clarifies certain points through rites and decrees in the event it is necessary to oppose errors or assaults by heretics or to explain more clearly points in the minds of the faithful.

"This exercise of authority, however, does not imply additions to the ensemble of doctrines contained in the store of revelations entrusted to the Church, but only amounts to clarification of points which may still seem to be obscure or the establishment, as a matter of faith, of truths held controversial.

RETURN TO CHURCH

"Meanwhile, Venerable Brothers, it is easy to understand why this Apostolic See never permitted your faithful to attend congresses of non-Catholics because the unity of Christians cannot be promoted otherwise than by the return of dissidents to the only true Church of Christ from which, one unhappy day, they detached themselves.

"They must return to the true and only church of

Christ, which as manifested by the will of its Founder must remain forever the same as He instituted for the salvation of all.

"The mystic bride of Christ throughout the centuries was never contaminated, nor will ever be contaminated according to the beautiful words of Cyprianus. The bride of Christ cannot be adulterated. She is incorruptibly chaste. She knows one house alone. She guards with pure chastity the holiness of her one home.

"Hence, this same holy martyr wondered with good reason that some one could believe 'that this unity which proceeds from Divine stability and is strengthened by means of the heavenly sacraments can divide herself from the Church and separate herself through disagreement of discordant wills.'

"The Church being mystic, the body of Christ is one well joined and solidly bound as a physical body, it would be stupidity to say that the mystic body can be composed of disjointed and separated members. Whoever is not united with it is not a member, nor communes with the head, who is Christ.

"In this only Church of Christ there is no one who does not recognize and accept obediently Peter's superior authority; also that of his successors.

"Did not the ancestors of those who, clouded by the errors of Phœtius and of Protestants, obey the Bishop of Rome as the highest pastor of souls?

"Unfortunately the sons abandoned the Father's

house, but it is not ruined, and thus sustained as it was by the constant help of God, may they return to the common Father. He, forgetting injuries thrown against the Apostolic See, will receive them with affection in His heart. Those who, if as they say, desire to unite with us and ours, why do they not rush to return to the Church which is mother and mistress of all followers of Christ?

"May they listen to the words of Lactanius: 'Only the Catholic Church is considered the true religion. It is the fountain of truth, home of the faith, temple of God in which, if one does not enter or if one withdraws, he remains far from the hope of life and health.

" 'It is not wise that others seek to deceive themselves by willful disputes here if life, the health of which if not provided for with diligent care, will fail and die.'

"Then, to the Apostolic See which was placed in this city that Prince Apostles Peter and Paul consecrated with their blood, to the Apostolic See which is the root and matrix of the Catholic Church, may return the dissident sons. Not with the idea and hope that the Church is the living God and pillar and support of the truth may we permit them to reject part of the faith or to tolerate their errors, but to submit to its magistracy of government.

"May we wish that God, who permitted us much which was not given to our predecessors, permit us to

embrace with the Father's soul those sons who separated from us by disastrous dissensions?

"Alas, our Divine Saviour, who wishes that all men might be saved, may you be pleased to call all the wandering sheep to the unity of the Church. For this, without grave doubts, we invoke the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, mother of divine grace, conqueror of all heresies, to give aid to Christians that we may hasten that day when all men will hear the voice of her divine Son conserving the unity of spirit in the bond of peace.

DESIRE FOR UNITY

"You will understand, Venerable Brothers, how much we desire this return. We wish that all our sons knew it, not alone Catholics but dissidents from us who, without doubt if they implore the divine light in humble prayer, will recognize the true church of Christ in it and will enter finally united with us in perfect charity.

"Awaiting such event under the auspices of the divine favor as a token of our paternal benevolence, we impart apostolic benediction with all our heart to you, Venerable Brothers, to the clergy and to the people.

"Done from St. Peter's, January sixth, feast of Epiphany of our Saviour Jesus Christ, year 1928, and the sixth of our pontificate.

POPE PIUS XI."

APPENDIX

I

THE THREEFOLD CONVENTION

The text of the International Treaty, which Pius XI made a *conditione sine qua non* of the Concordat with the Italian Government, is as follows:

In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity:

"Whereas, the Holy See and Italy have recognized the convenience of eliminating every reason for difference existing between them, to come to a definite arrangement of their reciprocal relations, which conforms to the justice and to the dignity of the two high parties, and assuring to the Holy See in a stable way the condition of fact and of right which guarantees to it absolute independence in fulfillment of its high mission to the world, and by which the Holy See consents to recognize the Roman Question raised in 1870 with the assigning of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy as settled in an irrevocable manner:

Whereas, owing to the necessity to assure absolute visible independence to the Holy See in order to guarantee it indisputable sovereignty also in the international field, it is deemed necessary to constitute Vatican City with special dispositions, recognizing its full property rights, with exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction over it to the Holy See; His Holiness, the Supreme Pontiff, Pius XI, and His Majesty, Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, have resolved to stipulate a treaty, nominating two plenipotentiaries for this purpose, namely, on the part of

his Holiness, his Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, his Secretary of State, and on the part of His Majesty, Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, President of the Cabinet, and chief of the Government, who, having exchanged their respective credentials, found the same good and in due form, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE ONE

Italy recognizes and reaffirms the principle set forth in Article I. of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy of March 4, 1848, whereby the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the sole religion of the State.

ARTICLE TWO

Italy recognizes the sovereignty of the Holy See in the international field as an inherent attribute of its nature, in conformity with its tradition and the exigencies of its mission in the world.

ARTICLE THREE

Italy recognizes full possession and exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican, as at present constituted, with all its appurtenances and endowments, creating Vatican City for such purpose with its special aims in connection with the present treaty. The confines of said Vatican City are indicated on a plan which constitutes the first annex to the present treaty, and of which it forms an integral part. It is agreed, however, that St. Peter's Square, also forming a part of Vatican City, will continue ordinarily to be open to the public and subject to the police powers of Italian authority, which authority will cease at the foot of the steps leading into the

basilica, although the latter will continue to be destined for public worship. The police will abstain, therefore, from ascending the steps or approaching the basilica, except in case they should be invited to enter by competent authorities. When the Holy See, in expectation of a special ceremony, will deem it opportune to withdraw St. Peter's Square from free public transit, the Italian authorities, unless invited by competent authorities to remain, will retire beyond the external lines of the Bernini colonnade and its prolongation.

ARTICLE FOUR

The sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction which Italy recognizes to the Holy See implies that there cannot be any interference whatsoever on the part of the Italian Government, and that within Vatican City there will be no other authority than the Holy See.

ARTICLE FIVE

For the execution of that which is established in the preceding article, before the present treaty goes into effect, the territory constituting Vatican City must be made free from all liens or any eventual tenants by the Italian Government. The Holy See will provide for closing the approaches by inclosing the open part except St. Peter's Square. It is, however, agreed that regarding real estate therein belonging to religious institutions or organizations, the Holy See will arrange directly to regulate its relations with these, the Italian State being disinterested.

ARTICLE SIX

Italy undertakes to furnish through agreement with interested organizations assurance to Vatican City of an ade-

quate supply of water within the territory. It will also provide for communication with Italian State railroads by constructing a railroad station within Vatican City at a location marked on the annexed plan, as well as for the movement of the Vatican's coaches on Italian railroads. It will also provide direct connection of telephone services, telegraphs, radio telephones, radio and postal telegraph with other States to Vatican City. It will, besides, provide for coördination of other public services. The Italian State will furnish the above at its own expense within one year from the date the present treaty goes into effect. The Holy See will arrange at its own expense for systematizing the present approaches to the Vatican, as well as others which it thinks it may be necessary to open. Agreements will be made between the Holy See and the Italian Government for circulation in the latter's territory of land vehicles and aircraft of Vatican City.

ARTICLE SEVEN

In territory surrounding Vatican City the Italian Government pledges not to permit new construction which overlooks Vatican City. It will also provide for the partial demolition, for the same purpose, of those already existing at Porta Cavalleggeri and along the Via Aurelia and Viale Vaticano.

In conformity with the regulations of international law, aircraft of any kind are prohibited from flying over Vatican territory. In Rusticucci Square and adjacent zones at the colonnade, where extraterritoriality does not extend according to Article Fifteen, any building or street changes which might interest the Vatican must be made by common accord.

ARTICLE EIGHT

Italy considers the person of the Supreme Pontiff as sacred and inviolable, and declares attempts against him, or propaganda to commit them, punishable by the same penalties established for attempts or propaganda to commit them against the person of the King. Offenses or insults publicly committed in Italian territory against the person of the Supreme Pontiff with spoken or written word are punishable as such offenses or insults against the person of the King.

ARTICLE NINE

In conformity with the regulations of international law, all persons having fixed residences in Vatican City are subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See. Such residence is not lost by the simple fact of temporary residence elsewhere when not accompanied by the loss of a house in Vatican City or by other circumstances showing abandonment of residence.

Ceasing to be subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, persons mentioned in the preceding paragraph will be considered outright Italian citizens in Italy, when not in possession of other citizenship. The same persons, while subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, will be subject in Italian territory—even in matters wherein personal law must be observed—to Italian legislation, and in cases where they are believed to be citizens of other countries they shall be subject to the laws of the State to which they belong.

ARTICLE TEN

Dignitaries of the Church and persons belonging to the pontifical court, who will be designated in a list to be agreed

upon by the high contracting parties, even when not citizens of the Vatican, will always in all cases regarding Italy be exempt from military service, from jury duty, and from all services of a personal character. This rule also will be applied to functionaries declared by the Holy See to be indispensable and those permanently attached with fixed stipends to offices of the Holy See, and also to departments and offices designated and assigned in Articles Thirteen, Fourteen, Fifteen and Sixteen existing outside Vatican City.

Such functionaries will be listed by agreement as the above-mentioned list is brought up to date annually by the Holy See. Ecclesiastics who for reasons of their offices are occupied outside Vatican City in execution of acts of the Holy See will not be subject by reason of their offices to any impediment, investigation or molestation on the part of the Italian authorities. Every foreigner invested with ecclesiastical office will enjoy the same personal guarantees due to Italian citizens by virtue of the laws of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

The central bodies of the Catholic Church are exempt from all interference on the part of the Italian State, except for dispositions of Italian law concerning purchases by moral bodies, as well as transfer of real estate.

ARTICLE TWELVE

Italy recognizes to the Holy See the active and passive right to maintain legations according to the general regulations of international law. Envoys of foreign governments to the Holy See will continue to enjoy all of the prerogatives and immunities which accrue to diplomatic agents according to international law. Their seats can continue to

remain in Italian territory, enjoying the immunity due them according to international law, even though their States shall not have diplomatic relations with Italy. It is agreed that Italy pledges forever in every case to let pass freely correspondence of all States, including belligerents, both to the Holy See and vice versa, as well as to permit free access of bishops of the whole world to the Apostolic See.

The high contracting parties pledge themselves to establish normal diplomatic relations through the accrediting of an Italian ambassador to the Holy See and of a pontifical nuncio to Italy, who will be dean of the diplomatic corps according to the customary right recognized by the Congress of Vienna, January 9, 1815.

By reason of the recognized sovereignty, and without prejudice as set forth in Article Nineteen, diplomats and Holy See couriers sent in the name of the Supreme Pontiff enjoy in Italian territory, even in time of war, the same treatment due diplomats and diplomatic carriers of other foreign governments according to the regulations of international law.

ARTICLE THIRTEEN

Italy recognizes to the Holy See the full possession of the patriarchal basilicas of St. John Lateran, of St. Mary the Greater, and of St. Paul Outside the Walls, with their annexed buildings. The State transfers to the Holy See free direction and administration of the basilica of St. Paul and also its annexed monastery, paying the Holy See sums corresponding to the amounts fixed annually by the Ministry of Education for said edifice. It is at the same time agreed that the Holy See is in freehold possession of the edifice of St. Calixtus, near St. Mary in Trastevere.

ARTICLE FOURTEEN

Italy recognizes to the Holy See full property rights of the pontifical palace of Castel Gondolfo, with all endowments and appurtenances which at present are possessed by the Holy See, as well as pledging itself to cede the same terms in full property rights of the Villa Barberini in Castel Gondolfo, with all endowments and appurtenances. This consignment must be effected within six months after the present treaty goes into effect.

In order to make one whole of the property sites on the north side of Janiculum Hill belonging to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide and other ecclesiastical bodies which overlook the Vatican palaces, the State pledges the transfer to the Holy See or to other bodies designated later all real property of the State or of third parties existing in said zone. The real property belonging to said congregation and other institutions, as well as other ones to be transferred, are indicated on the annexed plan.

Italy lastly transfers to the Holy See in full free property rights the convent edifices in Rome annexed to the basilica of the Holy Twelve Apostles, to the churches of St. Andrew of the Valley and St. Charles of the Catinari, to be consigned free of all tenants within a year of the date the present treaty goes into effect.

ARTICLE FIFTEEN

Real estate designated in Article Thirteen and in the first and second lines of Article Fourteen, as well as the palaces Dataria, Cancellaria and Propaganda Fide in the Piazza di Spagna, and the Palace of the Holy Office and those adjacent thereto now used by the congregation of the Oriental Church in the Piazza Scossa Cavalli, and also the palace of the

Vicariate and other edifices which the Holy See in the future deems necessary in order to arrange its departments, although forming a part of the territory of the Italian State, will enjoy the immunity recognized by international law to seats of diplomatic agents of foreign States.

The same immunity will be applied also regarding other churches and also in churches outside of Rome when there is celebrated in them without being open to the public ceremonies at which the Supreme Pontiff is present.

ARTICLE SIXTEEN

Real estate designated in the three preceding articles, as well as that used for seats for the following pontifical institutes: namely, the Gregorian University, the Biblical Institute, the Oriental Institute, the Archæological Institute, the Russian Seminary, Lombard College, the two palaces of St. Apollinaris, as well as the house of spiritual retreat for the clergy at Sts. John and Paul, will never be subjected to liens or expropriations for cause of public utility without a preceding agreement with the Holy See. The State also will exempt taxes, whether ordinary or extraordinary, whether levied by the State or any other body.

The Holy See has the power to make whatever adjustment it believes suitable to all of the above real estate designated in the present article, and also in the three preceding articles, without need for authorization or consent on the part of Italian governmental, provincial or communal authorities, which can rely on the noble artistic traditions which the Catholic Church boasts.

ARTICLE SEVENTEEN

Contributions of whatever nature due to the Holy See by other central bodies of Catholic Church or bodies directly

managed by the Holy See, even outside of Rome, or to their dignitaries, employees and functionaries, even when not fixed, will be exempted in Italian territory, beginning January 1, 1929, from any tribute whatsoever both on the part of the State as well as any other body.

ARTICLE EIGHTEEN

The treasuries of art and science in the Vatican City and in the Lateran Palace will remain visible to scholars and visitors, while full liberty will be reserved by the Holy See to regulate when they shall be open to the public.

ARTICLE NINETEEN

Diplomats and envoys of the Holy See, diplomats and envoys of foreign countries to the Holy See, dignitaries of the Church coming from abroad to the Vatican furnished with a passport of the State of origin viséd by papal representatives abroad, can without any other formality reach the Vatican through Italian territory. The same procedure will apply to those furnished with a regular pontifical passport who go from the Vatican City abroad.

ARTICLE TWENTY

Merchandise from abroad coming to the Vatican City, or outside the Vatican City for institutions or officers of the Holy See, will always be admitted in any point within Italian confines or any port of the kingdom through Italian territory with full exemption of customs, duties and intercommunal taxes.

ARTICLE TWENTY-ONE

Cardinals enjoy in Italy the same honors due princes of the blood. Those resident in Rome, also those outside the

Vatican City, are citizens of the latter to all intents and purposes. During a vacancy in the pontifical See Italy provides in a special way that free transit and access of cardinals through Italian territory to the Vatican will not be hindered, nor will any impediment or limit to personal liberty be placed on the same.

Italy in addition will take precautions that on the territory about the Vatican City acts will not be committed which may disturb the neighborhood of the Vatican conclave. Such regulations prevail also in conclaves which may be held outside the Vatican City, also councils presided over by the Holy Father or his legates, also as regards bishops called upon to participate therein.

ARTICLE TWENTY-TWO

On request of the Holy See, and also on delegation of power which can be given by the Holy See either in single cases or permanently, Italy will provide within her own territory for the punishment of crimes which are committed within the Vatican City, except when the author of the crime may have fled into Italian territory, in which case the procedure against him will be according to Italian laws. The Holy See will consign to the Italian State persons who have fled to the Vatican City charged with acts committed in Italian territory which may be considered criminal by the laws of both States. And analogous procedure will apply to persons charged with crime who flee to property declared immune in Article 15, unless those in charge of such property prefer to invite the Italian police to enter and arrest the fugitive.

ARTICLE TWENTY-THREE

For execution within the Kingdom of sentences emanating from tribunals of Vatican City, regulations of international

law will be applied. Sentences and decrees issued by ecclesiastical authority and officially communicated to the civil authorities regarding ecclesiastical or religious persons, or concerning spiritual or disciplinary matters, will have at once full juridical efficiency for all civil purposes.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FOUR

The Holy See, in relation to the sovereignty due to it also in the international sphere, declares that it wishes to remain and will remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between States and to international congresses held for such objects, unless the contending parties make concordant appeal to its peaceful mission; at the same time reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power.

In consequence of this declaration, Vatican City will always and in every case be considered neutral and inviolable territory.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIVE

By special convention, signed jointly with the present treaty, and constituting the fourth annex to the same, and forming an integral part thereof, the liquidation of credits to the Holy See will be proceeded with.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SIX

The Holy See agrees that with the agreements signed to-day adequate assurance is made for what is necessary for it for providing for due liberty and independence of the pastoral government of the diocese of Rome and the Catholic Church in Italy and the world, declares the Roman question definitely and irrevocably settled and therefore eliminated, and recognizes the Kingdom of Italy under the

dynasty of the House of Savoy, with Rome the capital of the Italian State.

Italy in her turn recognizes the State of the Vatican City under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff.

The law of the 15th of May, 1871, No. 214, is abrogated as well as any other decree contrary to the present treaty.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SEVEN

The present treaty will be laid before the Supreme Pontiff and the King of Italy for ratification not later than four months from the date of signing, and will become effective on the act of the exchange of ratifications.

* * *

The Concordat, which is essentially a local undertaking between the Vatican and Quirinal, reads:

In the name of the Holiest Trinity:

Whereas, since the beginning of negotiations between the Holy See and Italy for resolution of the Roman question, the Holy See itself has proposed that a treaty relative to the said question should be accompanied as a necessary complement by a concordat for settling the conditions of religion and the Church in Italy.

Whereas, a treaty for solution of the Roman question has been concluded and signed to-day,

His Holiness and Supreme Pontiff and His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, have agreed to make a concordat and to this end have nominated the same plenipotentiaries delegated for stipulation of the treaty, that is to say, for his Holiness the Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, his Secretary of State, and for His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III. Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, Premier and head of the Government, who, having ex-

changed full credentials and found the same good and in due form, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE ONE

Italy, according to the terms of Article I of the Treaty, assures to the Catholic Church free exercise of spiritual power, free and public exercise of worship, as well as jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, in conformity with the regulations of the present concordat; where it is necessary accords to ecclesiastics the defense of its authority for acts of their spiritual ministry. In consideration of the sacred character of the Eternal City, Bishopric of the Supreme Pontiff and bourne of pilgrimages, the Italian Government will engage to prevent in Rome all which may contrast with the said character.

ARTICLE TWO

The Holy See communicates and corresponds freely with bishops, the clergy and the whole Catholic world without any interference by the Italian Government. In the same way, freely with their clergy and all the faithful.

Both the Holy See and bishops may freely publish, also affix to inside and external doors of edifices destined for worship or offices of their ministry, instructions, ordinances, pastoral letters, diocesan bulletins and other acts regarding the spiritual government of the faithful which they may choose to issue within the province of their competence. Such publications and notices, generally all acts and documents relative to the spiritual government of the faithful, are not subject to taxes.

Such publications as regard the Holy See can be made in any language. Those by bishops are made in Italian or Latin, but beside the Italian text the ecclesiastical authority may add a translation in other languages.

Ecclesiastical authorities may do so inside and at the doors of churches as well as edifices which are their property.

ARTICLE THREE

Theological students of the last two years of preparation in theology intended for the priesthood and novices in religious institutions may, on their request, postpone from year to year until the 26th year of age fulfillment of the obligations of military service.

Clerics ordained "in sacris" and members of religious orders who take vows are exempt from military service except in case of general mobilization. In such cases priests pass into the armed forces of the State, but maintain their religious dress, so that they can practice among the troops their sacred ministry under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the military ordinary bishop. According to the terms they are preferentially attached to the health services.

At the same time, even if general mobilization is ordered, priests exercising full divine rights are dispensed from the call to arms. Ordinaries, parish priests, parochial vicars or coadjutors, temporary vicars and priests permanently attached to rectories of churches open to worship are included in this category.

ARTICLE FOUR

Ecclesiastics and members of religious orders are exempt from the office of jurymen.

ARTICLE FIVE

No ecclesiastic can be employed or remain in the employment or offices of the Italian State or public bodies depend-

ing upon the same without "nulla osta" of the diocesan ordinary.

Revocation of "nulla osta" deprives the ecclesiastics of capacity to continue exercising employment or office taken up.

In any case apostate priests or those incurring censure cannot be employed in a teaching post or any office or employment in which they have immediate contact with the public.

ARTICLE SIX

Stipends and other emoluments enjoyed by ecclesiastics on account of their office are exempt from charges and liens in the same way as stipends and salaries of State employees.

ARTICLE SEVEN

Ecclesiastics cannot be requested by magistrates or other authorities to give information regarding persons or matters that have come to their knowledge through the exercise of their sacred ministry.

ARTICLE EIGHT

In the case of the sending of an ecclesiastic or a member of a religious order before a penal magistrate for crime, the King's procurator must inform the proceedings thereof to the ordinary of the diocese in whose territory he exercises jurisdiction, and must immediately transmit to the office of the ordinary the preliminary decision thereon and, if issued, the final sentence, both of the court of first instance and the court of appeal.

In case of arrest, the ecclesiastic or member of a religious order is treated with the respect due to his state and hierarchic degree. In case of the sentence of an ecclesiastic or

member of an ecclesiastic order, punishment is to be, if possible, undergone in places separate from those designated for laymen, unless a competent ordinary has reduced the prisoner to a lay state.

ARTICLE NINE

As a general rule edifices open for worship are exempt from confiscation or occupation.

When for grave public necessity it becomes necessary to occupy an edifice open to worship, the authority proceeding with the occupation must make previous arrangements with the ordinary, unless reasons of absolute urgency are opposed thereto. In this case the occupying authority must immediately inform the ordinary.

Except in cases of urgent necessity public force cannot enter for the exercise of its functions edifices open to worship without previous notice to the ecclesiastical authorities.

ARTICLE TEN

For no reason is it permitted to proceed with the demolition of edifices open to worship except by previous agreement with competent ecclesiastical authorities.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

The State recognizes the holidays established by the Church, which are: All Sundays, New Year's Day, Epiphany, St. Joseph's Day (that is, March 19), Ascension Day, Corpus Domini, the Feast of the Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul (that is, June 29), the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 15), All Saints Day, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) and Christmas Day.

ARTICLE TWELVE

On Sundays and fixed Church holidays, where there is a chapter, the celebrant of high mass will sing according to holy liturgy a prayer for the prosperity of the King of Italy and the Italian State.

ARTICLE THIRTEEN

The Italian Government will communicate to the Holy See a full list of the ecclesiastical personnel regularly attached to its service for spiritual assistance with the military forces of the State, as soon as same is approved according to law.

The choice of ecclesiastics charged with the high direction of the service of spiritual assistance—military ordinary, vicar and inspectors—is made confidentially by the Holy See to the Italian Government. Whenever the Italian Government has reasons for opposing such choice, it will communicate the same to the Holy See, which will proceed to another choice.

The military ordinary will have the rank of archbishop.

The nomination of military chaplains is made by competent authorities of the Italian State on choice of the military ordinary.

ARTICLE FOURTEEN

The Italian aeronautical, terrestrial and naval troops shall enjoy in regard to religious duties the privileges and exemptions permitted by canon law.

Military chaplains have, as regards said troops, parochial stipends. They exercise a sacred ministry under the jurisdiction of the military ordinary, assisted by his own curia. The Military Ordinary has jurisdiction also over the reli-

gious personnel, male or female, attached to the military hospitals.

ARTICLE FIFTEEN

The ordinary military Archbishop is attached to a chapter of the Church of the Pantheon in Rome, constituting with it the clergy charged with religious service at the said basilica.

Such clergy are authorized to attend all religious functions, even outside of Rome, which in conformity with canonical regulations, may be requested by the State or the Royal Household.

The Holy See agrees to confer on all canons forming the chapter of the Church of the Pantheon the dignity of Apostolic Prothonotaries "ad instar durante munere." The nomination of each of them will be made by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome after presentation by His Majesty the King of Italy, and following confidential indication of the candidates.

The Holy See reserves the right to transfer the Deaconry to another church.

ARTICLE SIXTEEN

The high contracting parties will proceed by agreement through the operation of mixed commissions to a revision of the diocesan limits in order to make them correspond with the provinces of each State.

It is understood that the Holy See will create a *Diocese of Zara;* that no part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy will depend upon a bishop whose territory is subject to the sovereignty of another State; and no diocese of the Kingdom of Italy will include territorial zones subject to the sovereignty of another State.

The same principle will be observed for all parishes existing or to be created in territories near each State.

Modifications which, after the agreement heretofore outlined, may be made to diocesan limits, will be arranged by the Holy See in agreement with the Italian Government and in observance of the principles laid down, except for small rectifications of territory required for spiritual needs.

ARTICLE SEVENTEEN

The reduction of the number of dioceses to result from the application of the preceding article will be carried into effect gradually as the dioceses become vacant.

It is understood that the reduction will not imply suppression of title within the dioceses or of chapters which will be maintained, but that the dioceses will be regrouped in such a manner that the chief towns of the same will correspond with those of provinces.

The aforesaid reductions will leave untouched all of the present economic reserves of the dioceses and other ecclesiastical bodies existing within the same, including the sums now paid by the Italian State.

ARTICLE EIGHTEEN

Owing to the necessity, by disposition of ecclesiastical authority, of uniting several parishes in a temporary or definitive way, either by intrusting them to one parish priest assisted by one or more vice parish priests, or by uniting several priests into one presbytery, the State shall maintain unchanged the economic allowance due these parishes.

ARTICLE NINETEEN

The choice of archbishops and bishops belongs to the Holy See. Before an archbishop, bishop or coadjutor with

the right of succession is nominated, the Holy See shall communicate the name of the chosen person to the Italian Government, in order to be sure that the Government has no objections of a political nature against such person. The formalities to this effect shall be carried out with all possible haste and with the greatest discretion, so that secrecy about the chosen candidate shall be maintained until he is formally nominated.

ARTICLE TWENTY

All bishops, before their installation in their respective dioceses, shall take an oath at the hands of the Premier under the following formula:

"Before God and the Holy Gospels I swear and promise to respect and cause my clergy to respect the King and Government as they are established under the constitutional laws of the State. I furthermore swear and promise not to participate in any agreement or attend any council which would be injurious to the Italian State, or to the public peace, and not to permit my clergy any such participation. Being mindful only of the welfare and interest of the Italian State, I will endeavor to avoid anything which might menace them."

ARTICLE TWENTY-ONE

The choice of persons for ecclesiastical benefices belongs to the ecclesiastical authority. The appointment of such persons shall be communicated confidentially to the Italian Government by the proper church authorities. Appointments cannot be approved until thirty days have elapsed since such communication. In the meantime the Italian Government, if it has any objection to an appointment, may manifest it confidentially to the ecclesiastical authority which, in the

event a discrepancy of views persists, shall submit the case to the Holy See.

Should serious objections against the exercise of an ecclesiastical benefice by a priest arise, the Italian Government shall communicate such objections to the bishop, who, by agreement with the Government, shall take appropriate measures within three months. In the event of a controversy between the bishop and the Government, the Holy See shall refer the solution to two ecclesiastics of his own choice, who, by agreement with two delegates from the Italian Government, shall make a final decision.

ARTICLE TWENTY-TWO

Ecclesiastics who are not Italian citizens cannot be made the holders of benefices existing in Italy. Bishops and parish priests must speak Italian. If necessary they must have coadjutors who, besides Italian, must understand and speak also the local language, for the purpose of giving religious assistance in the language of the faithful in accordance with the rules of the Church.

ARTICLE TWENTY-THREE

The provisions of Articles Sixteen, Seventeen, Nineteen, Twenty, Twenty-one and Twenty-two are not to be applied to Rome and its suburban dioceses.

It is agreed that, in the event the Holy See reorganize such dioceses, allowances now paid by the Italian Government to parishes or other ecclesiastical institutions shall remain unchanged.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FOUR

The "exequatur' and the royal "placet," or any other royal appointment in the matter of ecclesiastical benefices

and offices, are abolished throughout Italy except the exemptions set by Article 29-G.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIVE

The Italian State renounces the royal prerogatives concerning major and minor ecclesiastical benefices. The right exercised by the State of using the allowances during the vacancy of ecclesiastical benefices is abolished.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SIX

Appointment of those who shall enjoy major or minor benefices, or those who temporarily represent a vacant see or benefice, shall be effective from the date on which the appointment is communicated officially to the Italian Government. The administration and the use of income during such vacancy are regulated by the rule of canon law. In case of bad management, the Italian State, after agreement with the ecclesiastical authorities, can seize the income, turning it over to the person in charge or, in the latter's absence, to the institution.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SEVEN

The basilicas and Holy Houses at Loreto, St. Francis at Assisi, St. Anthony at Padua, together with the buildings and institutions annexed thereto, except those having merely a lay character, shall be ceded to the Holy See, and their administration shall freely belong to the Holy See. All institutions of any sort which are conducted by the Holy See in Italy, together with missionary colleges, shall likewise be free from any interference from the Italian Government. Purchases of property by moral bodies shall, however, be subject to Italian laws. The property and title of the fore-

going basilicas shall be defined by mixed commissions, who shall take due account of the rights of third parties or the endowments which are necessary to the foregoing lay institutions. Ecclesiastical administration shall replace civil administration in churches in which the latter administration is existing.

ARTICLE TWENTY-EIGHT

In order to appease the conscience of those who, under Italian law, own ecclesiastical property, the Holy See grants full recognition to the title of such property. The Holy See will advise bishops to this effect.

ARTICLE TWENTY-NINE

The Italian State shall revise its legislation in so far as ecclesiastical matters are concerned in order to make it conform to the aspirations inspiring both the treaty and the concordat. The high contracting parties agree forthwith as follows:

First, to leaving unchanged the juridical status of ecclesiastical bodies hitherto recognized by Italian laws (namely the Holy See, its dioceses, chapters, seminaries, parishes and so forth). Such status shall be extended to churches open to worship which hitherto have not been in possession of it, including those for merely belonging to ecclesiastic bodies which were suppressed. Except for what is provided in Article 27, the boards of administrators, wherever they may exist and whatever their denomination, even if composed of a majority or totally of laymen, shall not interfere with services of worship, while appointment of such boards shall be made in agreement with ecclesiastical authorities.

Second, the juridical status shall be recognized of reli-

gious associations with or without vows which are approved by the Holy See, which have their mother house in Italy and which are represented, *de jure* or *de facto*, by persons having Italian citizenship and who live in Italy. The juridical status also is recognized of Italian religious provinces within the boundaries of the Italian State and its colonial possessions, also of associations having their mother house abroad, provided the same conditions are implied, also of religious houses, when the particular rules of each order attribute to them the capacity of buying or owning, also of the headquarters of religious orders, also of provinces of foreign religious associations. Associations and religious houses already enjoying juridical status will maintain it.

Third, confraternities the main purpose of which is to worship shall not be subject to further alteration of their aims and purposes, and they shall depend upon ecclesiastical authorities in so far as their functioning and administration are concerned.

Fourth, the existence of religious foundations of any sort is permitted, provided that it is manifest that they respond to the religious need of the population and that there is no financial obligation on the part of the State. The above provision also applies to existing foundations.

Fifth, one half of the membership of boards of civil administrators of ecclesiastical estates formed after such estates were seized by the State shall be composed of members designated by ecclesiastical authorities. The same provision applies to religious funds in new provinces.

Sixth, acts done hitherto by ecclesiastical and religious bodies without complying with civil laws may be recognized and regularized by the Italian State upon demand of the

bishop to be submitted within three months of the date upon which the present concordat becomes operative.

Seventh, the Italian State surrenders jurisdiction over the palatine clergy throughout Italy, except the clergy attached to the Church of St. Veronica of the Handkerchief at Turin, the church at Superga, the Church of the Sudario at Rome, and chapels annexed to the royal palaces or the residences of members of the royal family. A special commission shall attend to assigning adequate endowment to each palatine church or basilica under the criteria set for churches in Article 27.

Eighth, leaving unchanged the taxation facilities already enjoyed by ecclesiastical bodies under existing Italian laws, the purpose of worship or religion is placed on the same footing as the purpose of benevolence or culture in so far as taxation is concerned. The extra tax of 30 per cent imposed by the law of August 15, 1867, the so-called contribution taxes provided by the laws of July 7, 1866, and August 15, 1867, and the tax on transfer of ecclesiastical property imposed by the royal decree of December, 1923, are abolished. Any special tax on church property is excluded in the future. Clergymen shall be exempted from taxation in so far as the exercise of their sacerdotal ministry is concerned, or any other tax of the kind.

Ninth, the use of religious garb by laymen, or by clergymen who are prohibited from wearing it by definite order of the proper ecclesiastical authorities—an order which must be communicated to the Italian Government— is forbidden, and punished with the same penalties which are meted to those who illicitly wear the military uniform.

ARTICLE THIRTY

Ordinary and extraordinary administration of any property belonging to any ecclesiastical institute or religious association is carried out under the supervision and control of the proper church authorities, and any interference by the Italian State is excluded.

The Italian State, until it is established otherwise through new accords, shall continue making up inadequacy in incomes of vacant ecclesiastical benefits through allowances in measure not inferior to that granted by present laws. Therefore, the management of such benefits—so far as acts and contracts beyond simple administration are concerned—shall be effected with the intervention of the Italian State. Income of Rome suburban dioceses and income of chapters and parishes in Rome are not subject to the aforesaid intervention. The amount of income of such dioceses, chapters and parishes shall be announced yearly by bishops, dioceses and the cardinal vicar of Rome in order that they may get the extra allowance provided under the present laws.

ARTICLE THIRTY-ONE

The creation of new ecclesiastical bodies or religious associations shall be made by ecclesiastical authority in accordance with the rules of canon law and recognition of their juridical status, so far as civil effects are concerned, shall be made by civil authorities.

ARTICLE THIRTY-TWO

Recognition and authorizations provided in the present concordat and treaty shall occur through rules set by civil laws which shall be made to conform to provisions of the treaty and concordat.

ARTICLE THIRTY-THREE

Ownership of the Catacombs existing in Rome and in other places in Italy shall be ceded to the Holy See which undertakes to guard, keep up and preserve them. Therefore, the Holy See after complying with the laws of the State and respecting the eventual rights of third parties is empowered to proceed to the necessary excavations and to remove the holy bodies.

ARTICLE THIRTY-FOUR

The Italian State, wishing to reinvest the institution of marriage, which is the basis of the family, with the dignity conformable to the catholic traditions of its people, recognizes the sacrament of matrimony performed according to canon law as fully effective in civil law. Notices of such marriages will be made both in the parish church and in the town or city hall. Immediately after the celebration of such marriage, the parish priest will explain to those he has married the civil effect of matrimony, reading the articles of the civil code regarding the rights and duties of spouses and will prepare the marriage certificate, a copy of which he will send within five days to the commune in order that it may be copied into the registers by the civil authorities.

Cases concerning nullity of marriage and dispensation from marriage by reason of nonconsummation are reserved for ecclesiastical tribunals and departments.

Decrees and respective sentences here, when they become final, will be brought before the supreme tribunal of Segnatura, which will decide if the rules of canon law regarding jurisdiction of the court, citation and proper appear-

ance or non-appearance of the parties concerned have been respected.

Such decrees and final sentences with the decisions of the supreme court of Segnatura will be transmitted to the appeal court having jurisdiction over the case, which by means of an order issued in council will render the same executive for all civil purposes, and will order that they be inscribed on the civil registers of the State alongside the record of the marriage act.

As regards cases of personal separation, the Holy See agrees that the same be judged by the civil judicial authority.

ARTICLE THIRTY-FIVE

For middle schools maintained by ecclesiastical or religious bodies, the institution of State examination remains unchanged with equal opportunities for candidates of government and religious institutions.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SIX

Italy considers the teaching of Christian Doctrine according to forms received from Catholic tradition as *the foundation and crown* of public education. Therefore Italy consents that the religious teaching now imparted in the elementary schools be further developed in the middle schools according to a program to be agreed upon between the Holy See and the State.

Such instruction will be given by masters, professors, priests and members of religious orders approved by ecclesiastical authorities and in subsidiary form by lay masters and professors furnished with proper certificates of capacity issued by the diocesan ordinary.

Revocation of the certificate by the ordinary immediately

deprives the teacher of authority to instruct. Only textbooks approved by the ecclesiastical authorities will be used in the public schools for such religious teaching.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SEVEN

Directors of State associations for physical education and preliminary instruction of "Avanguardisti" and "Balilla," in order to render possible religious teaching and assistance for the youth in their charge, will arrange so that the schedule will not prevent fulfillment of religious duties by boys on Sundays and fixed religious holidays.

Similarly directors of public schools will arrange as regards assemblies of scholars on holidays.

ARTICLE THIRTY-EIGHT

Professors of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart and the dependent Institute of Mary the Immaculate are subordinated to Nulla Osta by order of the Holy See to insure that no exception will be able to be taken from a moral or religious point of view.

ARTICLE THIRTY-NINE

Universities, major and minor seminaries, whether diocesan, inter-diocesan or local, academies, colleges and other Catholic institutes for the formation and culture of ecclesiastics will continue to depend solely upon the Holy See without any interference on the part of scholastic authorities of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE FORTY

Degrees in sacred theology issued by faculties and approved by the Holy See will be recognized by the Italian State.

Similarly diplomas will be recognized which are conferred in schools of paleography, the archive of science and documentary diplomacy existing in the library and the archives of the Vatican City.

ARTICLE FORTY-ONE

Italy will authorize for use in the kingdom and colonies of pontifical knightly honors, by means of registration of the patent nomination to be made effective by presentation of the patent and written request of the interested party.

ARTICLE FORTY-TWO

Italy will admit recognition by royal decree of noble titles conferred by the Supreme Pontiff even after 1870 and also those to be conferred in the future. In cases to be determined such recognition will not be subject to an initial payment of tax.

ARTICLE FORTY-THREE

The Italian State recognizes organizations dependent on "Azione Cattolica Italiana," inasmuch as they, as the Holy See has declared, exercise activity outside all political parties and are under the immediate direction of the Hierarchy of the church for diffusion and propaganda of Catholic principles. The Holy See takes the present occasion of the stipulation of this concordat to renew to all ecclesiastics and members of religious orders in Italy the prohibition against joining or taking part in any political party.

ARTICLE FORTY-FOUR

If in the future any difficulty should arise on the interpreparation of the present concordat, The Holy See and Italy will proceed equably to an amicable solution.

ARTICLE FORTY-FIVE

The present concordat will be effective on the exchange of ratification contemporaneously with the treaty stipulated between the high contracting parties eliminating the Roman question. With the becoming effective of the present concordat, all regulations deriving from concordats made by former Italian States will cease to have effect. Austrian laws, laws and regulations, decrees and ordinances of the Italian State at present effective, are abrogated when the present concordat becomes effective, insofar as they are in opposition to the terms of this concordat.

In order to carry into effect the present concordat, there will be nominated immediately after the signing thereof, a commission composed of persons chosen by both parties.

Finally comes the following financial instrument of the Convention:

ARTICLE ONE

Italy undertakes to pay, upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty, to the Holy See the sum of 750,000,000 Italian lire and to hand at the same time to the Holy See Italian five per cent. negotiable consolidated bonds—with coupons falling due on June 30 next—to the nominal value of one billion Italian lire.

ARTICLE TWO

The Holy See declares that it accepts the above as a definite settlement of its financial relations with Italy depending upon the events of 1870.

ARTICLE THREE

All deeds to be executed for the effectuation of the treaty, this convention and the concordat shall be exempt from all taxes.

NOTE: The text used here is the U. P. report.

II

THE NEW VATICAN STATE

THE "City of the Vatican" is the subject of a recent bulletin from the Washington, D. C., headquarters of the National Geographic Society.

"Although the smallest existing entity with an international status," says the bulletin, " 'The City of the Vatican' embraces within its limited boundaries the world's largest and one of its most beautiful churches; many of its rarest and costliest art treasures and books; and has as its 'capitol' the most extensive and probably the best known palace in existence. In addition the new State is ruled over by the Pope, to whom hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world look as their spiritual leader.

"The name, Vatican, is believed to have come from an old Etruscan settlement, Vaticum, on the right bank of the River Tiber. At any rate in Roman days before the Christian era, this district was known as Ager Vaticanus, and as the years passed the name came to be attached specifically to Vatican Hill or Monte Vaticano. The region was not considered to be a portion of ancient Rome, but was recognized as a district apart from it.

"Between Vatican Hill and the river, a distance of perhaps a half mile, is a level area. It was there that Nero had his circus, in which St. Peter is said to have been put to death. The body of the Apostle is reputed to have been buried near the foot of Vatican Hill, and over the spot now

rises the majestic Basilica of St. Peter, the world's largest and perhaps its most famous church.

"The region of the Vatican—the tomb of St. Peter—began to play a part in the Catholic faith about 90 A. D. when a small oratory was built near by. But pagan influences were still in the ascendency in the general region and remained so even after Constantine built the first Basilica of St. Peter in 319. A little later convents, chapels and churches began to spring up in the surrounding district, and it became definitely Christian.

"The fine hill behind St. Peter's did not come into possession of the Church until the Middle Ages, when the Popes bought portions of its slopes, and finally acquired the entire eminence.

"After the right bank of the Tiber took on a Christian character, and the tomb of St. Peter gained in importance, a residence was built near the basilica and was occupied from time to time by the Popes. The pontiffs continued to live, however, in the Lateran Palace across the river and the city from Vatican Hill.

"St. Peter's and its neighboring buildings were pillaged by the Saracens in 847 and immediately afterward Pope Leo IV inclosed the Church and the Vatican property by a high, fortified wall. The Vatican then became the fortress citadel of the Popes, and on several occasions it was necessary to resist sieges there.

"The Vatican buildings were added to, and by 1300 an extensive palace had arisen. Soon came the temporary removal of the Papacy to Avignon, France. During the 70 years of the exile the Vatican Palace fell into disrepair. Its restoration was begun when the Popes again took up their residence in Rome in 1378. After a few years the

Vatican became the regular Papal residence and has remained such ever since.

"The territory of the new City of the Vatican is to be only a little larger than the present Vatican grounds. It is slightly more than a half mile across from east to west, and slightly less than a half mile across from north to south. The new State thus covers about a quarter of a square mile, or, very roughly, in the neighborhood of 160 acres.

"The Vatican Palace, which extends northward from St. Peter's, contains approximately 1,000 rooms. The outer walls of the buildings inclose more than 13 acres of ground; and the actual buildings, exclusive of interior courts, cover seven and a half acres. Much of the palace was not intended to be a residence and has never been so used. Hundreds of the rooms are given over to art objects and constitute the Vatican Museum, housing one of the world's most remarkable collections. The Vatican Library, filling numerous other rooms, is also one of the outstanding libraries of the world. Only about 200 of the rooms are used by the Pope, his officials, guards, clerks and servants.

"One of the small additions to the territory of the Vatican will probably extend the grounds on the southwest a hundred feet or so to an existing railway. Then a station, established just outside a gateway, will make it possible for diplomats accredited to the Vatican City and distinguished visitors to step directly on to soil of the new state.

"Like some of the states of Germany, the new Vatican State has scattered fragments of territory under its sovereignty. One is the Cancelleria Palace, about a mile from the Vatican, in the heart of Rome. It was built in the fifteenth century from stones taken from the Colosseum, and

is the residence of an important ecclesiastic, the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome.

"Most important of the scattered fragments is the Lateran Palace and the Church of St. John Lateran on the eastern edge of Rome. It was in this palace that the treaty recognizing the existence of the new State was signed. The existing Lateran Palace is relatively new, but on its site was the first home of the Popes, presented to them by Emperor Constantine, in 312, following his conversion to Christianity. Near-by rose the Church of St. John Lateran. The present church structure is also relatively new, but by virtue of its predecessors on the same site it has a unique status, outranking even St. Peter's. It is the Cathedral of Rome and of the world, the mother church of the Catholic faith. In it all the Popes were crowned until, following the fall of the temporal power of the Papacy in 1870, the Popes confined themselves to the Vatican and St. Peter's.

"A third bit of outside territory under the sovereignty of the new State is Castel Gandolfo a country estate about 17 miles southeast of Rome in the Alban Hills. The estate consists of extensive grounds and a commodious castle overlooking beautiful Lake Albano. This region, 'the Roman Switzerland,' has been a resort country for Romans since the days when the early emperors had pleasure villas around the lake and its sister body of water, Lake Nemi. Popes of the Middle Ages used Castel Gandolfo for a summer residence, and it may be put to similar use again now that the settlement of the 'Roman Question' has released the Pope from his self-imposed imprisonment in the Vatican."

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